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Performing Faith: The Interwoven Illuminations of the De Brailes Hours

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Performing Faith: The Interwoven Illuminations of the De Brailes Hours

by

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Dedication

To Jenna, who told me to grow up; to Alcoholics Anonymous who taught me how; and to Joan Holladay, for giving me the opportunity.

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Abstract

Performing Faith: The Interwoven Illuminations of the De Brailes Hours

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This thesis reviews the pictorial contents of the de Brailes Hours within in the milieu of its reception, chiefly as a object of novelty, with Dominican connections, and a female audience. Building on this and the work of scholars like Claire Donovan and Carlee Bradbury, this thesis suggests that there is in the manuscript's pictorial program a devotional architecture structured much like the *sermo modernus*, wherein a *thema* is dilated by several *exmpla*. The program contains many *themata*, and many different *exempla* for each, but examined here is specifically the *thema* of faith and its performance in three character-foil *exempla* sets: Peter and the Wandering Jew, Elizabeth and Joseph, and David and Susanna. This devotional architecture is constructed through the varied and manifold schema of cross-references, a visual and moral back-and-forthing that prompts recognition of this network as well as reflection on the viewer's own devotions. The function of this architecture is not inherently gendered, bug the particular *thema* explored favors a female audience, in accordance with the manuscript's codicological indications of its intended viewer.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

THE OBJECT

Amongst the large collection of the British Library in London, one can find bearing the shelf-mark Additional MS 49999 a manuscript that is regarded as one of the earliest books of hours—at times even bravely heralded as the "first" book of hours.[1] Indeed, the British Library online catalog entry lists this manuscript as "the earliest extant English book of hours."[2] While this proclamation is likely a touch overzealous, we need not worry overmuch: it is certainly an early example of the incipient genre and an undoubtedly idiosyncratic object. Not terribly much is known with surety of the de Brailes Hours, as it is commonly called, but we can be safe in perpetuating some of the inferences made by the studious scholars who precede us: it was designed and illuminated in Oxford about 1240 by the well-known (possibly Dominican[3]) William de Brailes, the "best-recorded professional illuminator of thirteenth-century England."[4] The parchment folios measure about 150 x 125mm, with a foliation of ff. vii + 105. This closely approximates the size of modern paperbacks, a convenient comparison and a

[1] London, British Library MS Additional 49999, formerly known as the Dyson-Perrins Hours. Indeed, in the seminal work on this manuscript, Claire Donovan boldly deems it "the very first book of hours," in *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London: British Library, 1991), 9. Several reviewers of Donovan's work have taken issue with this, namely Jeffrey Hamburger, review of *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*, by Claire Donovan, *Speculum* 68 (1993): 1104, and Karen Gould revises it as well, as the "earliest extant Book of Hours," review of *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*, by Claire Donovan, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 85 (1991): 433. Several other scholars revise this assumption more carefully: it is qualified as possibly "the very first of these surviving English Books of Hours" by Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 8; Adrienne Williams Boyarin refers to it as the "first known Book of Hours," in *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 75.

[2] "Detailed Record for Additional 499999," British Library Catalogue, accessed April 23, 2018, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6430.

[3] Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin*, 75; Duffy remarks on Dominican influence, but calls de Brailes "a commercial illuminator and scribe." Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 8.

[4] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 10.

useful size for daily use and portability—however, it is clear that the manuscript has been "brutally" trimmed, as we can see on the first folio, folio 1r, for example (Fig. 1).[5] The main text is Latin in a Gothic script, with Anglo-Norman French 'captions' in a more casual, non-scribal hand, unanimously thought to be de Brailes' own. Anglo-Norman French prayers were added much more informally to the end of the codex (fols. 102v-105v) after de Brailes had finished his work and it passed into the hands of the patron or *destinatrice*.[6] It maintains its original binding today.[7] Though the binding was once thought to be fifteenth-century Italian work, it is actually quite contemporary with the original English production of the manuscript.[8] The contents of the de Brailes Hours are this: the Hours of the Virgin (fols. 1r-65v), the Penitential Psalms (fols. 66r-81r), Litany of the Saints (fols. 81r-87v), and the Gradual Psalms (fols. 90r-101v), an inclusion relatively unique to England. In addition to the significant trimming, emendations include the insertion of folio 28 to the fourth quire and the extraction of two full-page miniatures from quires seven and eight; these were "replaced by pages of a modified text," specifically folios 51v-52v and 57r with the text of Psalms 109, 112, and 147.[9] The *Salve regina* hymn was also added on folio 65r. These were once thought to be in an Italian hand, but this conclusion was revised to specify an Italian hand working in England, contemporaneous with de Brailes.[10] All emendations, save for the addition of the Anglo-

[5] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 29.
[6] Ibid., 9; Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 8-9.
[7] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 32.
[8] Sydney Cockrell, "Description of Brailes Horae: MS 4," in *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), 11-25, esp. 18; Graham Pollard revises this: "the book has never been rebound, and its present binding is strictly contemporary English work." Graham Pollard, "The Construction of English Twelfth-Century Bindings," *The Library* 17 (1962), no. 5, 3.
[9] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 29, 32.
[10] Ibid., 32 and footnotes to Chapter 2, no. 17 and fn. 20, 160.

Norman prayers, which were written on spare folios, were made before binding. Unfortunately, no explanation for these odd changes is readily available.

We know this to be the work of de Brailes, for he was fond of taking credit for his work: he would often include self-portraits, and in this case, we find signatures accompanying them.[11] The first self-portrait is found on folio 43r (Fig. 2) with de Brailes' captions, "w. de brail' qui me depeint" ("W de Brailes who painted me").[12] The second self-portrait, on folio 47r (Fig. 3), is also captioned "w. de brail." The third and final self-portrait of de Brailes is found on folio 88v (Fig. 4), and "by this point in the manuscript he needed no introduction."[13] Interestingly, de Brailes chose to depict himself as a tonsured monk, though at most he would have been a Grey Friar, a lay brother of the Dominicans. Claire Donovan explains this as de Brailes' way of presenting himself as a learned and devout man—I am not inclined to disagree, it is not an outrageous inference, and it is not unappealing to think de Brailes was indeed affiliated with the Dominicans.

Thanks to the thorough archival work of Graham Pollard, we know that de Brailes worked in Oxford from at least 1238 to 1252, making 1240 a fair date to approximate the manuscript's production.[14] De Brailes leaves us not only with a signature and self-portraits in the de Brailes Hours, but an idea of his full oeuvre as it can be reassembled through his distinguishing and quickly recognizable style.[15] The de Brailes Hours is the

[11] There has been considerable discussion of what precisely 'portrait' means in medieval art, for medieval portraits were very rarely intended to depict a person's actual likeness. In this case, I am using the term portrait to indicate a representation meant to refer specifically to a person, *not* of biblical/narrative/fictive origins, but a person involved in the making/patronage/use of the manuscript containing said portrait.
[12] Though the British Library's digitization is infinitely helpful, this bit of caption text is obscured by the arc of the parchment into the gutter, so this transcription depends upon Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 21-22, repeated by Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 9.
[13] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 9.
[14] Pollard, "The Construction," 13-14.
[15] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 10. A fuller analysis of style and production evidence can be found in Donovan, "1. William de Brailes, illuminator of Oxford," in *The de Brailes Hours*, 9-24.

only extant book of hours he seems to have made, and one of the few manuscripts he seems to have made entirely by himself, though we know de Brailes to have been quite an energetic illuminator.[16]

We may safely presume a lay reader of the de Brailes Hours, for its contents intimate its audience: the manuscript's devotional material is simple and easily accessible—it required no great liturgical knowledge on the part of the reader to be useful.[17] Furthermore, it seems to offer itself to a lay audience, for the innovation of its contents exceeded the needs of clergy and appealed to the more amateur, yet enthusiastic religious reader. On a physical level, it was a small, handheld codex with large, legible script and a *mise-en-page* that facilitated easy use, possibly on the go. The images played an important role in this facilitation, for they went hand in hand with the texts, both thematically and simply as markers of new sections. Considering the strong, if not explicit, evidence of the object itself, we should have no problem at all assuming the intended audience was lay.

Though they are often known today as medieval bestsellers, books of hours were still something of a novelty in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when psalters and breviaries were the more common and quite popular devotional aides.[18] The de Brailes Hours had no real precedent as far as we know.[19] So in gathering the Hours of the Virgin with specific Psalms and the litany, something more than a breviary or a psalter—

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[16] At least seven manuscripts clearly shown the hand of de Brailes, Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, Appendix 4, nos. 15-21, 202-203; Graham Pollard, "Williams de Brailles," *Bodleian Library*, 5, no. 4 (1955): 203; Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 12; Sydney Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailes* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1930), 4.

[17] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 25.

[18] Ibid., 25-26; Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, Inc. and The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), 9; for a discussion of books of hours' significance, see L. M. J. Delaissé, "The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book," in *Gatherings for Dorothy E. Minor*, ed. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M. C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974), 203-225.

[19] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 25.

something unique—was created. The de Brailes Hours was novel not only in terms of its liturgical textual contents either: de Brailes' 'captions' are fairly anomalous, and certainly interesting in and of themselves. While I, unfortunately, do not have a full translation of all these marginal notes,[20] Donovan does a fair job interpreting their purpose. In the simplest terms, they "explain and amplify the meaning of the scenes."[21] Yet their actual operation (whether fully intended or otherwise) is not so simple. They are not purely illuminator's instructions, indicating what scenes go where, for they do not always contain descriptive information. However, they were apparently written before the main body of the text and so likely served at least some design function.[22] The nature of the information they convey is not always consistent: sometimes they identify a character or scene, sometimes they introduce a narrative's theme or emulate dialogue or narration. It makes a good deal of sense that de Brailes' captions would not conform perfectly to a single style of normalized marginal note, for, after all, he was writing them in a very new kind of devotional manuscript. I find it quite appropriate that these captions would be so flexible in their function and so telling of the process of designing *and* reading this manuscript. However, I do not have full translations at my disposal, and as much work as Donovan[23] and Carlee Bradbury[24] have done, this would be an entirely separate, much larger project. Instead of launching into this investigation, I will simply draw from Donovan and Bradbury and interpret those captions which accompany the illustrations of most significance to my argument.

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[20] Transcriptions can be found in Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailes*, and in Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 11-25. Donovan provides only some translations.

[21] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 38.

[22] An example of de Brailes' caption interfering with the main body text can be found on fol. 66r, where the Anglo-Norman French text delays the start of the formal Latin script at the initial.

[23] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*.

[24] Carlee A. Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining the Jew in medieval England," (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2007).

Altogether, we can be sure of de Brailes as the artist and we can safely work under the premise that the reader was a laywoman.[25] I will further contextualize the audience later, but this serves sufficiently here. Furthermore, to be perfectly clear, these will be the facts of the manuscript and the premises of its context that I will take as I develop my interpretation of its reading: first, it was made in Oxford by William de Brailes, around 1240, for a laywoman with Dominican advisors. I will also assume that it was indeed a fairly novel object in 1240, just as it seems to us today, and that it was certainly aware of itself as such.

PURPOSE STATEMENT AND FRAMEWORK

As previously mentioned, this is an extraordinary object, and there are yet many questions to be asked and answers to be found. I do hope to occasionally indicate these other queries, so as to give an accurate impression of the object, but I can only tackle one topic here. This work, then, will pick up where Donovan left off in many ways. In the simplest terms, Donovan lays out the devotional framework of the manuscript as it is manifest in the ingenious relationship between word and image. She gives us the devotional day of the reader as it was experienced through the manuscript, explicating only the first level of meaning in the pictorial program—the subject of the illustrations, and how they relate to the text they accompany. She does this so intelligibly in fact that she fails to convey the secondary, and I believe *essential*, experience of reading: the pictorial program is so expertly designed, created with such nuance, and contains so many varying discrete narratives that it works to send the viewer's attention bouncing and ricocheting from scene to scene, character to character, moral to moral, often with

[25] All scholarship on the manuscript unanimously believe the reader to be a woman, and the basis for this will be discussed in greater detail later. This inference begins with Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 16-17.

little or no regard to chronology or structure. Even one who has laser-like focus may find herself jumping wildly from idea to idea as if being pulled in many directions. I do not find this to be a characteristic of most, or even some, books of hours; it is an experience I have found unique to the Brailes Hours. Rather, I believe the pictorial program does indeed pull from many different directions. However, my argument is not that the program is simply a mess. Rather, if one spends enough time with it, and trains his attention to certain tropes or themes, then a complex matrix of meaning stretching back and forth through the manuscript comes into focus. It is my goal to bring into focus one such system of dialectical references, a series of images that are tied together by a discourse on faith, piety, and truth. In understanding this system, it is important to distinguish between faith and piety, if only to allow for a clarity of terms in this essay that will help us understand thematic and dialectical nuances.

According to the *OED*'s third definition of faith (*n.*), it is "belief, trust confidence," "a belief in and acceptance of the doctrines of religion," and theologically, "the capacity to spiritually apprehend divine **truths**, or realities beyond the limits of perception or of logical proof, viewed either as a faculty of the human soul, or as the result of divine illumination."[26] Two points are most significant here: first, it directly relates faith to spiritual *truth*, and second, having faith is a passive action. In a small note, the dictionary entry continues: "Earlier evidence refers almost exclusively to the Christian religion, divine revelation being viewed as contained either in Holy Scripture or in the teaching of the Church. **In this context, *faith* is often considered in relation to justification before God, and contrasted with *works***."[27] It is this contrast that it will be

[26] *Oxford English Dictionary, s.v.,* "faith," accessed April 28, 2018, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/Entry/67760?rskey=Cq46oQ&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid. Emphasis my own.
[27] Emphasis my own.

important to understand if we are to comprehend the moralizing messages of the de Brailes Hours' pictorial program. We may better associate works with piety, for as the *OED* defines it, it is "reverence and obedience to God…devotion to religious duties and observances; godliness, devoutness."[28] The entirety of this definition rests on action and depends hardly at all on true faith.

As they say, faith without works is dead, and I argue that the reader of this manuscript was shown that works without faith are dead: that is, one may be pious and perform faith, but if her faith is not *true*, it matters little.[29] By the same hand, it is a reciprocal relationship and this creates many layers of dialogic and dialectical discourses through the various narratives and characters of the pictorial program. When we finally turn to these images, I will make clear the instances of faith and piety, emphasizing how the performance of faith should not be defined as piety, or works, as it may seem it should be, but as the act of faith.

I argue that there is in the de Brailes Hours' pictorial program a devotional architecture, an array of varied and manifold schema which take the same general form as the *sermo modernus* and offer the reader a variety of morals and models. I demonstrate this faculty of the pictorial program by illustrating one such scheme or structure on the *thema* of faith, exemplified by the character-foil pairs of Peter and the Wandering Jew, Elizabeth and Joseph, and David and Susanna.

Because there is such strong evidence that the reader of this manuscript had Dominican advisors, and that they very well may have been involved in the pictorial

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[28] *OED, s.v.,* "piety," accessed April 28, 2018, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/Entry/143641?rskey=4Y4KSQ&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid

[29] A more nuanced explication of this idea emerging in the thirteenth century can be found in Andrew Reeves, "Teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith in England: 1215-1281," in *Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200-1500)*, ed. Ronald J. Stansbury (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 45.

program's rhetorical design, I believe this to be one of the safest and most fruitful areas of exploration. Therefore, I will be drawing heavily from scholarship on mendicant preaching and pastoral care to reconstruct the program's rhetorical framework and to understand the prescriptive ideas with which it would have been comprised. After laying down this guideline, I will turn to how this could have been received and reconfigured by the reader. The manuscript's pictorial program is designed so as to navigate the reader through a myriad of semiotic experiences, and I believe not for a moment that all of these would be precisely what was intended by spiritual advisors or de Brailes himself. With this destination in mind, let us look to the scholarship that will help us along the way.

DONOVAN AND THE DE BRAILES HOURS

Even if we know not much of this particular book of hours' inception, a great deal of work has been put into understanding the development of books of hours, and this is easily enough applied to the de Brailes Hours.[30] Though the Gradual Psalms is a less common inclusion, and the manuscript does not include a Calendar or other fairly standard accessory texts, such as "Obsecro te" or "O intemerata," it is at its heart still a book of hours. Furthermore, de Brailes' design of the pictorial program is not so very far from how book of hours' pictorial programs were to be standardized (Annunciation with Matins, Visitation with Lauds, and so on).[31] Donovan's book, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century England*, is especially helpful in

[30] Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 1985); Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon, 1994); Delaissé, "The Importance for Books of Hours," 203-225; Duffy, *Marking the Hours*; John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames & Hudson, Ltd., 1977); Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller and Walters Art Gallery, 1988); Wieck, *Painted Prayers*; for a specific discussion of women and books of hours, see Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (London: The British Library and University of Toronto, 1996), 266-281.

[31] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 23.

understanding the de Brailes Hours' place in devotional history. In her 1991 work—the first (and still only) work fully dedicated to the manuscript—Donovan attempts to reverse engineer how this new kind of prayer book format worked to shape the day and devotion of its reader. As the first to work comprehensively on the de Brailes Hours, Donovan does it justice, setting down a valuable foundation for any future investigation. But because Donovan is concerned with this manuscript as (one of) the first book(s) of hours, and because she proceeds in appropriate order by laying down an important evidentiary and analytic foundation, she does not explore or develop questions of the acting agent(s) in the book's ideological, devotional, or iconographic conception or reception in anything more than a superficial fashion.[32] She does begin to postulate about the book's formulation, but it is more descriptive than interpretive. It must be remembered, Donovan's was the first work to treat the de Brailes Hours in a comprehensive manner.[33] It is quite appropriate, then, that she should be interested in the de Brailes Hours as representing a 'new' devotional type and not yet too worried with author or audience. In sum, she presents a comprehensive, linear reading of the manuscript's contents, placing treatment of the images in context with the text they accompany, and she does so while paying close attention to the prayers, their place in the text as a whole, and something of the temporal experience of reading. Overall, this is very good work, and it will be invaluable to my own. However, what can be said about an object in a single monograph, no matter how large, is hardly ever exhaustive. I find this no less true for the de Brailes Hours—and perhaps even more so.

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[32] In his review, Hamburger bemoans the loss, while also incidentally noting something of the pictorial program's nature: "Sequential exposition makes it difficult to analyze the verbal and visual typologies framed by the variable layout. Fixed on the foreground, Donovan often allows the background and context to fade from view." Hamburger, review, 1104.

[33] A fair bibliography for the manuscript may be found on the British Library's website: British Library Catalogue, "Detailed Record for Additional 49999, accessed April 23, 2018.

Donovan begins with the artist himself, for he is perhaps the least assailable variable in the matrix of information required for a sound interpretation of the object. She forms much of her picture of the artist with the help of Pollard's archival work, looking at Oxford records that begin to sketch out his life. He worked in Oxford's community of book-makers along School and Catte Street from at least 1230 to 1260.[34] It seems he was well-regarded in this community, for he is mentioned largely in records to do with property disputes, as a witness or a mediator.[35] It is through these records that we also know he had a wife, Celena. Of this, Donovan makes absolutely nothing—and truly, how could she? Other than her existence as wife to William de Brailes, we have no evidence to work on, nothing to hypothesize with. We know, *generally*, that illuminators' wives were involved in the process of making illuminated manuscripts in some capacity or another, whether it be with bookkeeping or iconography.[36] Seeing as we know quite definitively that this manuscript was made with a woman reader in mind, it would be so very interesting to know exactly how involved Celena was in the process of designing this book.[37] But alas, we cannot know, and I must do my best to negotiate the interpretative path this information allows. From the artist, Donovan moves on to the ordering of the reader's devotional day through the manuscript, and this begins naturally with that very reader. She gives more space to de Brailes as the artist, but this attention is

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[34] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 13-15; Pollard, "Williams de Brailles," 202-209; Graham Pollard, "The University and the Book Trade in Medieval Oxford," *Miscellanea Medievalia* 3 (1964): 337.

[35] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 15; see Appendix 5, 206-207.

[36] In their thorough investigation into the documents of the Paris book trade, Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse show that the wives of illuminators and *libraires* often worked hand in hand with their husbands in the business, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500,* Vol. 1 (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), 116-119, 130, 237-281, 307-307.

[37] To end his review, Henderson makes some cryptic comments about Celena, de Brailes' wife and "no doubt a skilled professional bookbinder" herself. I believe his idea is that Celena perhaps perpetrated some of the manuscripts marring—excisions and such—as "revenge." For what is never said. George Henderson, review of *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*, by Claire Donovan, *The Burlington Magazine* 134 (1992): 184.

proportionate to the amount of evidence left to us to reconstruct the object's history—of the audience, we may be far less sure. In truth, we know nothing at all about the initial conditions for the production of the manuscript. We have no firm indication or evidence to suggest it was made by de Brailes on speculation; rather, much of the manuscript's idiosyncrasies would suggest otherwise. We also have no explicit evidence to identify a specific patron who commissioned the work for a specific reader; the manuscript bears no colophon or other inscription of ownership, and there exists today no record from de Brailes' workshop or other documentary evidence to indicate any such information.

Nevertheless, as Donovan keenly describes, there are other less explicit signs that prompt her to take certain elemental assumptions for her interpretation. As we established earlier, the de Brailes Hours was likely meant for a lay reader, and we may further infer she was a lay*woman* given the inclusion of several discrete portraits of a woman at prayer (fols. 64v, 75r, 87v, 88r) (Figs. 5-8). Donovan further deduces that she was "young, unmarried, fashionable and devout," yet not aristocratic.[38] A problem with the second point, the woman's marital status, arises if we consider de Brailes' representation of women in a broader context: as George Henderson points out, Donovan's determination depends upon de Brailes' confirming to common dress and clothing iconography, which he does not do.[39] Without much scrutiny, Donovan believes de Brailes' depiction of the reader clearly communicates her unmarried status via her loose-hanging hair and pill-box hat, which was the standard iconography of unmarried women. However, de Brailes regularly depicts unquestionably married biblical women in just this way: even a few folios ahead, the biblical Susanna is depicted in this way, yet she is most certainly

[38] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 24.
[39] Henderson, review, 183-184.

married, just as Anna is married and Elizabeth is married, though they too are shown in a similar (that is, ostensibly unmarried) fashion (Figs. 32 & 16, respectively).

While this *might* be significant in the context of this manuscript and this reader—that is, Susanna, shown as an unmarried model for an unmarried reader perhaps—Henderson also provides examples from the New College Psalter[40] and de Brailes' Pharaoh's wife in a manuscript of Bible pictures (Fig. 9),[41] precluding any definite conclusion that de Brailes' depiction of the reader as unmarried was intentional and meaningful.[42]

Given this variable, we are left with no reliable indication that the reader—under the assumption that the portraits were indeed meant to portray the reader—was married or unmarried, young or old. She may well have been fashionable, for it seems this progressive devotional aide was made for her use—and if she did indeed use it, then she very well could have been devout. I tend to want to agree with Donovan on these two points. They are, after all, not illogical assumptions given the nature of the object. Nevertheless, they *are* assumptions and I will be treating them as such. However, I have some stronger reservations about maintaining Donovan's assertion that this woman was not aristocratic: for one, I cannot seem to find a basis for coming to this conclusion, and two, with what we know of manuscripts and English culture of the thirteenth century, every indication would tend to suggest she was indeed aristocratic. A non-aristocratic laywoman likely would not have had the means, alone or through a male relative (husband, father, brother, etc.), to commission an almost entirely new sort of devotional prayer book, lavishly illuminated by the note-worthy William de Brailes: the

[40] Oxford, New College MS 322, folio 99r.
[41] Baltimore, Walters MS W.106, folio 15r.
[42] Henderson, review, 184.

craftsmanship of the object hints strongly at its aristocratic patronage. Even in the case that de Brailes produced the manuscript—his only book of hours that we know of—on *speculation*, a woman of less-than-aristocratic standing would rarely have the capital to invest in such an object, especially not one that appeared to be novel at this time. Furthermore, the Anglo-Norman captions and added prayers also favor an aristocratic audience: Anglo-Norman was almost exclusively reserved for the higher classes in English culture and life, while Middle English was the language of the common people, the non-aristocratic. I think it the much more rational and safer assumption that the woman pictured in the portraits, for whom the manuscript was made, was a part of, or very close to, the Oxford aristocracy. Ultimately, my thesis will be based on the premise that the reader was a woman, and it will matter not so very much beyond that whether she was young or unmarried, or even aristocratic. We have sufficient evidence to safely presume that whoever this woman was, she had the means to not just view this manuscript, but contemplate it, comprehend it, and turn its meanings over in her mind—and that is the important part.[43]

A further, rather reliable observation about the reader (or those people about her) leads us to consider her as having had Dominican confessors or advisors. As noted above, shortly after de Brailes' completion of the manuscript, several Anglo-Norman French prayers were appended to the end of the original text of the codex. Significantly, these prayers mention three specific Dominicans: Richard of Newark, Richard of Westley, and Bartholomew of Grimston.[44] Donovan takes note of this evidence of Dominican

[43] The ease of this manuscript's use is emphasized by Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 25 and Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 121. Later I will discuss the interpretive abilities of lay audiences, especially laywomen.

[44] "Jo dei prier pur frere richart de neuerc, y pur frere richart de westey, y pur bartelmeu de grimistun, e pur tut frere prechres e menures k deus me dunt part de lur praers e de lur benfez, e pur tu me confessurs. Pur deu, senurs, vus ke veez chete letre priez pur os e pur may 1 pater noster 1 ave marie par charite." Transcription by Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 15.

persuasion, but makes little of it. I fault her not for this; it was not her main concern. However, several reviewers of her work did notice the potential of the de Brailes Hours as a valuable resource to those studying mendicant-lay pastoral care and devotional practices in England at that tempestuous time.[45] I will be taking Dominican influence in the reader's devotional program as a contextual premise for my interpretations and will devote some time to reconstructing that milieu.

Another supposition Donovan draws from evidence within the manuscript itself concerns the identity of the *destinatrice*, though this is not so anchored in concrete evidence as some of the other postulations discussed thus far. As the gender of the reader was inferred from several portraits, situated in textual and pictorial narrative breaks, Donovan asserts (in quite strong language) that the woman was named Susanna, because the portraits appear before the historiated initial series illustrating the story of Susanna and the Elders (fols. 90r-96r). Of course, her evidentiary basis is more complex than this, but it has not been easy for all to accept this inference.[46]

Donovan puts the whole weight of her assertion on four portraits of a woman at prayer and a fifth, very similar, portrait of Susanna praying after her entrapment by the Jewish Elders. De Brailes included several 'floating' portraits—the three of himself, and four of the woman that is in all likelihood the intended owner/reader. This woman, whom Donovan refers to as Susanna, appears in historiated initials on folios 64v, 75r, 87v, and 88v, which is followed immediately by de Brailes' last self-portrait. After several unillustrated folios, a portrait of a woman in prayer—of very similar dress and bearing—is accompanied by the caption "ele clama deu en la tribulaciun" ("She exclaims to God in

[45] David A. E. Pelteret, review of *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*, by Claire Donovan, *Albion* 24 (1992): 456-457.
[46] Hamburger, review, 1105; Henderson, review, 183-184.

tribulation") on folio 90r. As Donovan points out, the Old Testament story of Susanna and the Elders was a less than wildly popular subject for illustration, and before proceeding to the next opening, where Susanna is shown before the judges, the identity and context of the woman are ambiguous. A reader could easily insert herself into that initial, and this is further facilitated by the likeness in dress and person to the preceding 'patron' portraits. However, this is not convincing enough an argument for me to perpetuate the identification of the owner/reader as Susanna. This is not to say the association is insignificant, but as the reviewer Henderson offers with confidence, "she appears here…as a model of faith, not as a namesake."[47] Other scholars have found Donovan too quick in jumping to this conclusion as well. In his at times biting review, Jeffrey Hamburger proclaims his disapproval of Donovan's designation: quite simply, he believes the evidence is just too flaccid.[48] In this case, it seems to me to matter little, as the given name alone gets us no further anyway.

While it is not so important to identify the name of the reader for this study, it is significant that Donovan finds the evidence based on the Susanna series to be so compelling. Despite a general disbelief, the reviewers do find this series to be powerful. I see the Susanna series as a culmination of sorts for the many tropological and semiotic cross-references in the manuscript's pictorial program, and it is for this reason that I give this subtopic some attention.

Though we are still left with many questions about this manuscript, peculiarities do not require a full explication; its codicological quirks must be left, unsatisfyingly, a mystery, for it makes little impression on the reception of the manuscript's pictorial program. The somewhat bewildering effect of this program is indeed a part of its

[47] Henderson, review, 184.
[48] Hamburger, review, 1103-1105.

function, or perhaps a side effect of it, and it is in the next chapter that I will develop a method with which I may approach it. At this time then, with aspirations of elucidation, I will delve into the relevant scholarship and methodology so that I may interpret this incredible pictorial program within its appropriate contextual framework.

Chapter 2: Literature Review, Analytic Context, and Methodology

SCHOLARSHIP ON THE DE BRAILES HOURS

Though long proclaimed one of the earliest books of hours, and thus an object of obvious interest to all sorts of scholars, the de Brailes Hours is often only cited as just that—an interesting example of an incipient genre. In some ways, it is treated almost like the stock photo of manuscript scholarship. It is referenced to take up some space and hint at whatever point is trying to be conveyed, sometimes about the inception of books of hours, though mostly it is used to simply create atmosphere. After taking note of the de Brailes Hours as a novelty, very few scholars follow up with a thorough effort at analysis.[49] I cannot begin to investigate why this might be so (though perhaps we will gain an idea in the course of my own analysis), for the manuscript is fruitful material for historians of the book, of devotion, of pastoral care, of illustration, and even of antisemitism. Undoubtedly, it is an object worthy of acute and prolonged study—it is designed precisely so. And yet, it would seem this is a task most scholars have shied away from, or at least have not found the time or the interest for such a project, save, of course, for Donovan. To be sure, Donovan's work fills a very large part of the initial or foundational work, which allows others to dive more deeply into any given object. At first, I believed this to be the reason so few scholars had published on the de Brailes Hours—they mostly seemed to cherry pick series from the pictorial program here and there, and not much else. However, after reading these selections, and familiarizing myself with the manuscript much further, I came to understand that this was a reflection of the nature of the object itself. That is, the pictorial program contains so much, of such semiotic flexibility, that the de Brailes Hours is rich soil for all sorts of scholarship. Like

[49] An example of this can be found in Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 8-12, 58.

a preacher's handbook, it holds many different stories for many different occasions. This makes it exceptionally hard to attempt a contained understanding of the object; trying to follow one line all the way through can feel kaleidoscopic.

It is an object acutely aware of itself—so peculiar and novel that it wields its own kind of agency. But this will become clear when we begin to explore de Brailes' images; for now, we will review the most significant and relevant of what has been written regarding the de Brailes Hours.

The de Brailes Hours contains five fully colored and illuminated miniatures (excluding the two that are thought to have been excised) (fols. 1r, 32r, 39r, 43v, 47v) (Figs. 11-14), and eighty-four colored and illuminated historiated initials that mark the beginnings of major sections of the text. These images illustrate fourteen separate narratives, depending on how you slice it.[50] That number does not include historiated initials accompanying suffrages and the several portraits inserted throughout. Donovan counts "as many as 111 separate scenes," in total.[51] De Brailes was no slouch.

So it is not surprising that a number of scholars have selected a handful of scenes as corroborating evidence in a larger argument, and this kind of work has given new depth to our understanding of the de Brailes Hours. For example, Paul Binski selects the series of initials spanning folios 44v-58r, illustrating the story of the priest who only knew the mass of the Virgin, to fill out his full study of St Thomas Becket in medieval England.[52] In a similar fashion, Deirdre Jackson draws on the Theophilus legend in the de Brailes Hours (fols. 32v-44r) to understand the influences that worked on the story's

[50] Please see Appendix A for the textual and pictorial contents of the de Brailes Hours.
[51] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 35.
[52] Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 151.

illustration in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.[53] Long before this, Alfred C. Fryer produced a survey of the legend in art and took note of de Brailes' rendition.[54]

The story of Theophilus is a narrative series that receives much attention. Theophilus was a priest who refused a clerical advancement and consequently lost all his worldly possessions. He sought help from a Jewish sorcerer, who takes him to the Devil to strike a deal. Theophilus regrets his decision, and after repenting and praying to the Virgin, she saves him from the contractual trap the Devil had set—even retrieving the contract from the Devil himself in Hell, knocking him a good one while there (Fig. 15). De Brailes tells this story through a series of initials running from folio 32v to folio 44r. In a study on the Miracles of the Virgin in England, Adrienne Williams Boyarin is interested in demonstrating the Virgin's special connection and powers relating to "matters legal, textual, and Jewish."[55] A large part of her work is focused on the story of Theophilus in England, for it deals with all three of these matters, and quite pointedly at that. It was a central tenet of medieval anti-Jewish polemic that Jews were textual, literal creatures, blind to the kind of fourfold interpretation of Christian exegesis. They could not reach beyond the literal level, and they were bound by the old Law, an outdated and useless juridical system. The story of Theophilus demonstrates this conception of the Jew in England, but it also plays out the result of losing faith and fraternizing with such Jewish sorcerers. It is only the Virgin that can, and *will*, help Theophilus out of his troubles; and even after she frees him in word, he fears that the contract will last as long

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[53] Deirdre Jackson, "The Influence of the Theophilus Legend: An Overlooked Miniature in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and its Wider Context, in *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by John Lowden and Alixe Bovey (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 75-87.

[54] Alfred C. Fryer, "Theophilus the Penitent as Represented in Art" *Archaeological Journal* 92 (1935): 295, 307, 319.

[55] Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin*, 7.

as the actual legal document does. As tedious as it is, the Virgin fetches it and destroys it for him, demonstrating her supreme control in such matters.

Interestingly, the Theophilus series is followed by two additional stories from the Miracles of the Virgin, which ends with an illustration of her death, burial, and assumption. These too deal in very acute Jewish-Christian polemic. Indeed, the de Brailes Hours' representation of Jews could easily fill a volume, but it will be enough for us to review several of the most pertinent works. As we have just seen, Boyarin examines the Theophilus legend in the de Brailes Hours with a view to the Virgin's relationship to legal, textual, and *Jewish* matters. But there is yet more ground to cover regarding this intriguing object's depiction of Jewish people.

In her 2007 dissertation, Bradbury takes an eye to de Brailes' depiction of Jews and his calculated choice of words in captioning them.[56] She argues, quite convincingly, that de Brailes chose one of three different words for Jew depending upon what context the Jew appeared in and that he correspondingly depicted the Jew in different fashions. The three 'types' of Jew are "a tormentor, a witness, or a priestly judge."[57] Each signifies a different level of opposition or antagonism to Christianity. The different words used to describe these types are *iude* (Jew), *felon* (felon), and *giue* (Jew). The first two are largely interchangeable for de Brailes, he intentionally conflates the two, particularly in contexts that cast Jews unfavorably. While *giues* were depicted normally, without much physiognomic differentiation from Christians, *iudes* and *felons* are depicted grotesquely, with egregious monstrosity. Bradbury argues that the use of these distinct types has the effect of creating a clear visual language for the meaning and rhetorical role of Jews in

[56] Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 110-172.
[57] Ibid., 124-125.

each narrative scenario. This clarity in their character allows for an easier and more immediate assessment of their relation in the matrix of dialogic meanings.

While the study and interpretation of Jewish depiction in this manuscript could fill a volume, it would stray too far from my goal to pursue this avenue further. Rather, Bradbury's work demonstrates well the semiotic significance of de Brailes' captions and will bolster an argument I make later about the dialectic cross-references between characters of the de Brailes Hours' pictorial program.

By no means do I intend to criticize these scholars in any way for drawing upon the de Brailes Hours as evidence for their arguments; neither do I mean to say it is an unusual practice for scholars to do so. It is all quite good scholarship and all very much appreciated, especially because of what feels like a dearth of full scholarship on the manuscript. The point I wish to make is that the de Brailes Hours is a particularly apt object to cherry-pick; de Brailes' pictorial program is so full of significant narrative and so capable of semiotic flexibility that it reveals much about a great many subjects—from Eucharistic theology in popular devotion, to the special role of the Virgin in judicial affairs.[58] I would not go so far to say that this is a novel observation on my part, but I will be trying to articulate something about this manuscript's pictorial program that has thus far eluded scholars—even if they sometimes dance around the subject.

Because there is so much material for interpretation, and so many different ways to interpret that material, studying the de Brailes Hours can feel almost manic. Any one narrative or historiated initial is so layered in significance and meaning that it can be a rabbit hole of interpretation. At the same time, de Brailes did such a nuanced job of interconnecting scenes, characters, and themes in the pictorial program that each rabbit

[58] Aden Kumler, *Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 111; Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin*, 7, 75-81.

hole sends the viewer into a series of associations with a different set of narratives or themes. It is admittedly very difficult to try to deal with the manuscript in a way that is comprehensive and cohesive *and* coherent. But for the same reason, it is a very flexible and versatile devotional tool that a reader could pick up each day and meditate upon something different. It is this design characteristic that reminds me so emphatically of the *sermo modernus* and Dominican pastoral care practices, which I will be exploring next.

DOMINICANS IN ENGLAND

We are lucky to have evidence of a Dominican connection with this manuscript, through multiple avenues, and this is knowledge we should capitalize on. This one bit of information can help us understand many different aspects of the de Brailes Hours, from the theological-iconographic milieu it was designed in, to the way in which the reader was guided to understand it. We cannot know for certain in what way the three named Dominicans—two Richards and Bartholomew—influenced the creation or reception of the manuscript's pictorial program—if they did at all. But I feel we would be remiss to dismiss this contextual clue. Therefore, to compensate for the lack of scholarship on the de Brailes Hours directly, I will now review relevant scholarship on Dominican pastoral care and penitential theory, as well as some work on identity and the individual in the thirteenth century, especially as it pertains to devotional practices. I hope to ultimately synthesize these findings into a methodology with which I can approach this eclectic pictorial program. When I bring this into harmony with existing methodologies for understanding women's reading and devotion, we will know more clearly what to make of the idiosyncrasies of the de Brailes Hours.

In any investigation involving the Dominicans, the work of William A. Hinnebusch is a valuable resource. His *Early English Friars Preachers* is an especially

helpful work detailing how Dominicans came to England—indeed, it begins with the Oxford Dominicans.[59] The first contingent of thirteen friars was sent in 1221 by Dominic himself, in the same year of his death, and was led by Gilbert of Fresney.[60] Though they were welcomed warmly in London, Dominic had been very explicit that they ultimately settle in Oxford, so there they arrived promptly in 1221;[61] a priory was firmly established there by at least 1230, when the first English provincial chapter was held.[62] Immediately they began stepping on the toes of the local clergy, sometimes very literally. In the first several years, as the Dominicans were establishing their priory and school, they extended their oratory into the bounds of St. Edwards and St. Aldates parishes, upsetting the local clergy. The issue was largely mitigated by local secular authorities, and ultimately, the issue fell favorably for the Dominicans. Hinnebusch finds the resolution of this scuffle to be "an indication that the friars had won the favor of the populace…."[63] And indeed they were quickly popular with the laity, even if they would always tend to rankle the clergy; the added prayers in the de Brailes Hours provide evidence that they integrated into the devotional fabric of the city soon after their arrival. So if we can be safely sure of their diffusion and influence, we then must examine the nature of that influence. Another work of Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, is the better of his publications for this need, though it is more focused on the organization of Dominican schools and priories. By setting down these systems, Hinnebusch clears the path for scholars such as D. L. D'Avray to work with what friars

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[59] William A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, Ad S. Sabinae, 1951), 1.
[60] C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), 72; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, 1-15.
[61] At the same time, Dominic sent friars to Paris and Bologna, for he was determined to establish a presence in the great universities. William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500* (New York: Alba House, 1973) Vol. 2, 5.
[62] Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, 1-3.
[63] Ibid., 7.

then took into the lay community. But to understand this, we must first take a closer look at the early thirteenth century, a time of flux and ebullient transformation.

"1215 AND ALL THAT"

The early thirteenth century was a tumultuous and transformative time in the Middle Ages; it marked a paradigmatic shift that we are still trying to understand today. Many socio-religious, political, and economic changes were beginning to foment after the twelfth-century Renaissance, and the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 is marked as a "watershed" moment, when many of these new currents were codified by the Church.[64] It is a testament to the moment's significance that the phrase "1215 and all that" suffices to easily and instantly indicate to scholars all the developments, the transformations, that led up to and followed the Fourth Lateran Council.[65] It is an event of given import, the obviousness of which is so pervasive in scholarship that this short appellation suffices to encapsulate its intensity. The late-eleventh and early-twelfth century was a time of energetic change in many ways: reform movements had much more momentum, while lay piety was reaching fever pitch—often outside the purview of the Church. Economies shifted, moving away from agriculture to production and from a barter to a money system. The governing political systems changed with the upturn in globalism resulting from greater trade. The Fourth Lateran was a culmination and a codification of many of these changes; the Council's canons were a both reaction to and a reflection of the times—times that were changing quickly and radically enough that they could be felt

[64] Andrew Reeves, "'The Cure of Souls is the Art of Arts:' Preaching, Confession, and Catechesis in the Middle Ages," *Religion Compass* 7/9 (2013): 373.
[65] Peter Biller, introduction to *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis (Rochester, NY: 1998), 30.

strongly by the very people living in them.[66] It should come as little surprise, then, that de Brailes created such a remarkable prayer book in Oxford at this time. But we can hardly make room for all this, and I mean to look specifically at the changes in lay devotion and pastoral care as it relates to the new mendicant presence. So while Hinnebusch provides us with valuable information about how the Dominicans founded and operated their schools and priories in Oxford, it will be important to now turn to works such as D'Avray's *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* and several essays in the collection *Companion to Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages (1200-1500)* edited by Ronald Stansbury.[67]

Though the title of his work is straightforward enough, D'Avray sets out to make seventeen "principal points" about the preaching of the friars.[68] Naturally, they are all interconnected in some way, and we hardly need review them all. The "principal points" I would like to take from D'Avray are these: 1) mendicant orders, such as the Dominicans, *activated* the spiritual and political changes taking place in the thirteenth century, especially change in the nature of the spiritual communion between the Church and the laity, for they were not only equipped to bridge the gap between complex theological ideas and simple lay catechesis, they were actively building this bridge through direct work with universities and lay congregations by means of teaching and preaching;[69] and 2) there is a practical and distinctive mendicant mode of constructing and delivering ideas within sermons, and this mode will be elemental in understanding de Brailes' pictorial

[66] The breadth of literature written on this topic speaks to its magnitude, though it prevents us from including a full explication here.
[67] David L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Ronald J. Stansbury, ed. *Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200-1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
[68] D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars,* 5.
[69] Ibid., 21.

program. Indeed, I argue that the mendicant mode of sermon structure can be seen in the structure of de Brailes' pictorial program.

The mendicant mode was the *sermo modernus*, a new form of sermon that developed with all the changes in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries and was brought most widely to the laity by mendicant preachers. As Andrew Reeves describes it,

> the turn of the thirteenth century saw a largely demand-driven preaching revival and a new style of preaching, the *sermo modernus*. In contrast to the earlier, more exegetical homily, the preacher would usually take a single line of text, usually drawn from scripture, as the *thema* and basis of the sermon. He would elaborate the *thema* by means of "**dilation**," which could be an exposition on the various senses of a word or idea found in the text, giving their metaphorical senses or **linking them with other passages of scripture**, or fleshing out the arguments being made with a triad of *rationes*, *exampla*, and *auctoritates*.[70]

D'Avray expands on this in great detail, the most important part of which, for us, is more specifically about *exempla*. First, he stresses that the *exemplum* was a favorite of the mendicant preachers and that they held "pride of place in the author's conception" of a sermon.[71] So while there might be a single *thema* for a given sermon, several different *exempla* could serve the purpose of dilation, or explication in application. Second, he emphasizes the skills of English preachers in this form of sermon:

> In some ways Paris and France played a less important part in the history of this genre than did the British Isles. (The diffusion of what one might call imaginative narratives seems to have been something of a British specialty, incidentally, for together with *exemplum* collections one thinks of the Merlin and Arthurian stories, the 'Miracles of the Virgin', and the inventively 'classicizing' friars of later thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century England.)[72]

We can reasonably look for and expect to find these kinds of dialogic, and dialectic, narrative structures in different English media, including the pictorial programs

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[70] Reeves, "Teaching the Creed," 49. Emphasis my own.
[71] D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars,* 66-68.
[72] Ibid., 67.

of books of hours—especially in a manuscript which contains several Miracles of the Virgin illustrations and demonstrates some level of association with Dominicans.

I find this pastoral framework strikingly like the thematic organization of the de Brailes Hours' pictorial program, though not necessarily in whole. No one *thema* is paramount in the de Brailes Hours but rather many that overlap to form layers of meaning, creating a matrix across the devotional experience of the reader. It is my intent, however, to demonstrate only one such *thema*: the performance of faith.

The material evidence left in the wake of these changes is vast and somewhat unwieldy to study, but it is extraordinarily helpful. Along with books of hours, confession manuals and preaching manuals had their birth in this period. Some preaching manuals were organized not unlike an encyclopedia, that is, with something of an alphabetic organization, where words and ideas of the Bible are listed and explicated—these are *distinctiones*. Mendicant collections of *distinctiones* appear in England around the mid-thirteenth century and, in these, greater emphasis is placed on the symbolism of the term, rather than the *auctoritates*, the authorities behind the exegesis.[73] Another similar manuscript-type played a significant part in pastoral care: the *exempla* collection, a collection of those same rhetorical elements integral to the framework of the *sermo modernus*, which functioned as an example—an *exemplum*—of a particular sermon's *thema*, or moral. We are lucky enough to have a manuscript such as this, a Dominican collector of *exempla* from Cambridge, compiled sometime between 1253 and 1292.[74] Scholars have long looked to this kind of material for help in understanding the actual

[73] Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 41 (1974): 29-30.
[74] Stephen Forte, "A Cambridge Dominican Collector of Exempla in the Thirteenth Century," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 28 (1958): 115-148.

nature of pastoral care, especially after the Fourth Lateran Council, and it has longed proved a fruitful source.

In Stansbury's anthology *Companion to Pastoral Care*, we find many different approaches to the subject: C. Colt Anderson seeks to understand the ritual purity that is at the very foundation of pastoral care, while James R. Ginther looks very specifically to the pastoral theology of Robert Grosseteste, and Reeves investigates the reality of teaching the Creed in thirteenth-century England.[75] Other scholars have looked to understand pastoral theory in a broad sense, such as William H. Campbell's exploration into the Dominican theology of reconciliation with God, one of the major concerns of thirteenth-century pastoral care.[76] And yet others have a single theme in mind, such as Marc Cels, who works to uncover how mendicant preachers mediated anger in those whose souls were in their care.[77] Some of the points these scholars illustrate will be relevant when interpreting the pictorial program, but first we must recreate its specific context and develop a framework with which to approach the de Brailes Hour.

Specifically, Reeves notes that after the Fourth Lateran there was a shift in pastoral theology that required more than simple practice from the average lay Christian. Going through the motions no longer sufficed: "just as the Christian was required to understand whether his behavior was virtuous or sinful, he was also required to understand the *faith* that was necessary as a foundation of his Christian life."[78] The

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[75] Colt C. Anderson, "Ritual Purity and Pastoral Reform in the Thirteenth Century," in *Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middles Ages (1200-1500)*, ed. Ronald J. Stansbury (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 73-94; James R. Ginther, "Robert Grosseteste's Theology of Pastoral Care," in *Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middles Ages (1200-1500)*, ed. Ronald J. Stansbury (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 95-122; Reeves, "Teaching the Creed," 41-72.

[76] William H. Campbell, "Theologies of Reconciliation in Thirteenth-Century England," *Studies in Church History* 40 (2004): 84-94.

[77] Marc B. Cels, "God's Wrath Against the Wrathful in Medieval Mendicant Preaching," *Canadian Journal of History* 43 (2008): 217-226.

[78] Reeves, "Teaching the Creed," 45. Emphasis my own.

pastoral theologies of post-1215 England placed a greater deal of spiritual responsibility on the shoulders of laypeople. The moment more is expected from the average layman, if he is to call himself Christian and earn a place in heaven, is the same moment the standard of ideal pastoral care was raised, as more stress was placed on the pastors to teach their flock the deeper doctrinal intricacies of Christianity—and it is this that we have evidence of, in confession manuals, distinction collections, and the like. As Stansbury argues, preachers and their sermons constituted the "primary vehicle" for communion between the Church and its congregation.[79] Preachers (and especially friars preachers)—who very literally formed the bridge between an 'intellectual' theology and lived religion—believed deeply that an understanding of biblical text had "deeply practical, moral and salvific implications for society at large."[80]

But for all this talking—the scholars' articulation of the preaching of pastors to laypeople—it is easy to forget the purpose and the inherent consequence of all this exhortation: the actual reception and absorption of these catechetical concepts by laypeople. In a more recent article, Reeves provides something of a short historiography of methods for approaching this material, in which he particularly laments the perpetuation of an intellectual/vulgar dichotomy in the methodological framework of scholarship on pastoral care.[81] Citing the great Peter Brown, Reeves observes that the "divide between ritualistic and emotional religious practices on the one hand and intellectual religious practices on the other hand ends up treating laypeople with the sort of disdain that literati have often felt for 'the vulgar.'"[82] He discredits this "popular

[79] Ronald J. Stansbury, "Preaching and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages," in *Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200-1500)*, ed. Ronald J. Stansbury (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 24; this is also one of the main points D'Avray pushes, see footnotes 67 and 68 above.
[80] Ibid., 38.
[81] Reeves, "Cure of Souls," 373.
[82] Ibid.

religion" model, as many have, and advocates for a model that understands pastoral care and laypeople's "lived religion" on its own terms. Catherin Rider takes this dilemma to task directly, examining several short confession treatises to gain an idea of what pastors expected from their flock and the extent to which these expectations were realized in thirteenth-century England.[83] She finds that clerical expectation of lay knowledge and practice was in fact "surprisingly high," seeming to contradict the doubt many scholars have automatically or unknowingly integrated into their work.[84] That doubt is in the ability of laypeople to cognitively, intelligently, meaningfully interact with their religion. I might posit that this bias comes more from lack of evidence than lack of confidence, and though an absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, it nevertheless creates a slant in scholarship.

Carl Watkins begins to deconstruct this flawed method by interrogating how seriously we evaluate our textual sources.[85] It seems that by taking them at "face value," scholars are wont to extrapolate backwards when trying to reconstruct the reality of pastoral care, and this encourages the dichotomy of "elite/clerical" or "mass/folkloric," because the two are inherently constructed against each other.[86] In turn, this divests the audience of their own interpretive ability and hermeneutic agency—the very abilities thrust upon them by the new theologies of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, so that they might ensure their salvation. I would not distinguish the responsibility of a Christian in truly understanding faith for salvation from the ability to think analytically about the moral implication of a sermon.

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[83] Catherine Rider, "Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals," *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 327-340.
[84] Rider, "Lay Religion," 330.
[85] Carl Watkins, "'Folklore' and 'Popular Religion' in Britain during the Middle Ages," *Folklore* 115 (2004): 142.
[86] Watkins, "Folklore and Popular Religion," 142.

My intention, then, is to use recent developments in interpretive methodology to show how very possible it was for the de Brailes Hours' reader to create a meaningful relationship with this manuscript based in a deep understanding of and interaction with its complex system of models and morals, *thema* and *exempla*. Perhaps at the heart of this lies the work of scholars such as Anne Bartlett, Anneke Mulder-Bakker, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne.[87] But to begin more simply, and from the perspective that this laywoman was reading a book of hours, let us look at Susan Groag Bell's landmark article, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture."[88] Not only does Bell immediately push against the notion of women's books of hours as straightforward, trivial objects of piety, she recognizes the essential role of women in the growth and development of books of hours.[89] She offered three points, which became the springboard for much feminist scholarship in later decades. I will relate only the two most significant for our purposes. Firstly, women's exclusion from institutional religion left them high and dry, so to speak, yearning for spiritual fulfillment. As we will soon see, women's religious praxis and devotion operated in a very different system than that of men, and it was often left to the women to seek what they wanted.

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[87] Anne Clark Bartlett, *Male Authors, Female Readers: Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Anneke Mulder-Bakker, ed., *Seeing and Knowing: Women and Learning in Medieval Europe 1200-1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); Anneke Mulder-Bakker, "The Metamorphosis of Woman: Transmission of Knowledge and the Problems of Gender," *Gender & History* 12 (2000): 642-664; Anneke Mulder-Bakker and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, eds., *Household, Women, and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Anneke Mulder-Bakker and Liz Herbert McAvoy, eds., *Women and Experience in Later Medieval Writing: Reading the Book of Life* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "'Reading is good prayer': Recent Research on Female Reading Communities," *New Medieval Literatures* vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002): 229-298; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Women's Formal and Informal Traditions of Biblical Knowledge in Anglo-Norman England," in *Saints, Scholars, and Politicians: Gender as a Tool in Medieval Studies, Festschrift in Honour of Anneke Mulder-Bakker on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Mathilde van Dijk and Renée Nip (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 85-109.

[88] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982): 742-768.

[89] Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," 754.

This they sought voraciously. Secondly, and for the same reasons, women excited and vitalized vernacular translations: barred from schools and certainly never taught Latin, they sought spiritual fulfillment voraciously and they sought it in the vernacular. It would not be an understatement to suggest they "substantially influenced" the landscape of medieval lay piety—and they did this in the vernacular.[90] This much more accessible form of communication is key to understanding the interpretive abilities of medieval women, so often dismissed for lack of evidence. But in fact the scene looks much different when we do approach it on its own terms. Mulder-Bakker, for example, shows us a "much fuller and richer landscape of women's learning and teaching," because she does not begin by applying the system of men's learning and teaching to women.[91] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne uses a beautiful metaphor of repositioning perspective so that the echo of women's subjective "resonances and interconnections can be heard."[92] I find it such a felicitous metaphor because it asks us to be still, to withhold our interpretive imposition for a moment, and listen. When we do this, we find that it is not so different from what was asked of medieval women: "'whatever is written can be spoken,'" and "do the best [you] can with whatever comes [your] way."[93] When we stop using the prescriptive material of male-authored texts for female audiences as our first order of operation when exploring the women's devotional experience, we are given an opportunity to perceive and share, in some sense, those experiences ourselves.

Women's devotional learning was, more often than not, informal; theirs was not an institutional, structured education but one borne of opportunity and appetite, often communally private so as to avoid offending pastors with their own interpretations or

[90] Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," 743.
[91] Wogan-Browne, "Women's Knowledge," 87.
[92] Ibid., 88.
[93] Ibid., 88-89.

varieties of spiritual growth.[94] This is perhaps frustrating for scholars today, for it leaves so little evidence; yet it is impossible to dismiss the implications if we recognize that women had, to some extent, an autonomous space carved out for their own fashions and processes of spirituality, coupled with every desire to cultivate an intellectually and emotionally vibrant devotional life. That space, the space of free reign, is the space of agency, and the pastoral theologies of the day only encouraged them to explore that space.

By this I mean that the more intense, sustained focus on pastoral care, and *especially* penance, seen in the thirteenth-century, coupled with a healthy amount of lay enthusiasm, created a situation in which the subject, as self, as identity, emerged in a different way. Quite apart from the greater emphasis on pastoral care—that is, the direct relationship between the clergy and the laity—the thirteenth-century saw the development of a personal relationship with God for laypeople. Susan Kramer looks at material evidence of the same class as D'Avray, or Reeves, or Ginther, but she is highlighting not how preachers and friars communicated with the laity, but how theologians were re-conceptualizing sin, penance, and a heart's direct communion with God.

After the Fourth Lateran Council a number of canons were passed that directly revised the nature of pastoral care. One is often specifically marked as a definitive factor in the evolution of the theology of pastoral care: it mandated that all Christians must confess and take communion at least once a year. This mandate, whether it was heavily enforced or no, interacted dynamically with the standing notions of interior and exterior, of subject and self. Emphasis on confession prompted a new look at identity, for it

[94] Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," 752.

actively compelled mindful self-reflection from responsive laypeople. Pastoral care and private devotion became much more reflective, and self-reflection by nature creates a greater awareness of self. At the same time, the source of sin and of virtue was more firmly planted in the hearts of the laity; actions began to speak little, for God listens to the heart and judges intent. Taking Peter Abelard as her case study, Kramer demonstrates the changing nuances of communication with God verbally and nonverbally[95]. This (non)verbal aspect will gain further significance later, but for now it is sufficient and certainly important to note that there was a considerable shift in the perception of subjectivity in the thirteenth century, and this gave individuals, even just common laypeople, more agency in the shaping of their spiritual program.

For example, the thirteenth century saw the "interiorization of sin," which describes the process by which sin became centered in intention, and consequently, an internal action.[96] Theologians such as Abelard and Anselm of Laon began to understand sin and penance as acts only truly visible to God, for they were unspoken, by nature and by necessity.[97] The practical result of this, however, was that the Church and society at large became much more anxious about 'hidden' sin—improper thoughts or good deeds for bad reasons that could poison a community yet could not be seen.[98] The stages of reconciliation, a hot topic in the thirteenth century, included confession, contrition, and satisfaction—these were all very clearly visible. Very often reconciliation with God meant reconciliation with fellows, so that it became something of a communal event.

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[95] Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 23.
[96] Caroline Walker Bynum and Susan R. Kramer, "Revisiting the Twelfth-Century Individual: The Inner Self and the Christian Community," *Das Eigene und das Ganze: zum Individuellen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum*, ed. Gert Melville and Markus Schürer (Münster: Lit, 2002), 65-71.
[97] Kramer, "'We Speak to God,'" 65-69.
[98] Bynum and Kramer, "Revisiting the Twelfth-Century Individual," 71. An exact exemplification of this fear will be explored later, in the extra-biblical story of Joachim and Anna.

This was threatened with Abelard's offer of a much more private method of reconciliation, almost a challenge to the "necessity of confession," and it severed some of the ties that bound the community as a subject, thus disengaging the self from the other, interior and exterior.[99] With this division comes opposition: the two are defined against each other. In this mutually opposed definition, the visible manifestations of self, the *performance* of self, becomes critical to communal integrity, for without it the (group) self does not recognize itself as a bounded, identifiable entity.

So here at once, then, we have forces encouraging inward reflection (the true path to reconciliation and salvation) *and* the outward, transparent performance of devotion and faith (which was necessary for maintaining the cohesion of the Christian community). It seems a tricky task to ask of the laity, requiring two seemingly opposite actions for the fulfillment of proper devotion and a true Christian life. However, I would like to argue that these praxes are not necessarily at odds with each other, quite the opposite. This is to say, that though they are seemingly defined against each other, they are never mutually exclusive. Rather they operate together, in concert: the models presented to the reader of the de Brailes Hours illustrate both operations of faith, the inward and the outward—and very often these operations were simultaneous. Point in fact, the first character I will examine as a model of faith, Peter, fails in the outward expression of his faith, yet he is persistent in self-reflection and in cultivating his personal relationship to Christ and to God. He never loses his faith and the reciprocal operation of inward and outward devotion is absolutely essential to significance of the moral. It is perhaps better to understand the two operations as one, a single mechanism that evolves with the circumstances of life.

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[99] This, of course, is not the only factor in the changing conceptions of identity, but it does reflect the processes occurring in the thirteenth century wherein the distinction between self and other was made with more awareness. Kramer, "'We Speak to God,'" 34-35.

Hand in hand with this differentiated perspective of subject came the recognition of models. Though identity politics today is far more likely to spur thoughts of radical difference, individuals of the Middle Ages seemed to have looked more quickly for the similarities, and model association naturally followed. Indeed, these two developments were not incidentally adjacent, but quite tied up together. Choice gave an "ever more strident voice" to those who would perform their individuality, even if it was based in a model—in fact, all the more![100] As we will see, these little opportunities to assume different roles or different aspects fit well into what we now understand of women's devotional interactions and relationships, especially in the context of fashioning identity through spiritual understanding and devotional practice.

I argue that the de Brailes Hours' pictorial program embodies a distinctly discernable form of devotional process, one in which the reader is prompted to deep introspection by the presentation of varied models and the narratives of their faith. Amid this presentation of process, the reader is guided through the desirable or appropriate ways of conducting one's self, of performing her faith. The various models of behavior evince both seemingly contradictory operations of devotion: the conscious contemplation of self and God and the direct relationship therein, as well as the dutiful (public) performance of faith through works. I contend that the whole of the de Brailes program hinges on the navigation of these two devotional experiences.

With the sum of this scholarship taken into consideration, it should be apparent that the reader of the de Brailes Hours was likely equipped with the tools to interact with the manifold programs of this manuscript with some degree of facility. The Anglo-Norman prayers naming Dominican confessors suggests the reader had some level of

[100] Bynum and Kramer, "Revisiting the Twelfth-Century Individual," 60.

spiritual council, of personalized pastoral care. She likely would have read her book of hours quite frequently, if not daily as was the intended use, and became acquainted with its networks of moral allusions and didactic juxtapositions. These two experiences combined would almost inarguably prompt the reader to self-reflection and, consequently, greater self-awareness. This was, after all, a principal goal of pastoral care, especially as practiced by Dominicans in the thirteenth century.

Another scholar who gives thoughtful consideration to the process of pastoral care, and who will be of great help to us here, is Masha Raskolnikov. Keeping in mind Caroline Walker Bynum and Kramer's observation about the concurrent, and inter-related, formation of models and self, let us turn to Raskolnikov's "attention to the slipperiness of the idea of a subject."[101] That is, in her examination of the intersections of identity formation, confession, and "vernacular psychology," she takes into account the variability of humans and their identity on a day to day, place to place basis.[102] This overlays perfectly the operations of the de Brailes Hours' pictorial program, as its thematic contents are multi-faceted and remarkably flexible in providing whatever spiritual or devotional needs the reader has on any given day. If the faith of the reader were one day wavering, or if she were faced with a dilemma or a crisis, or if she simply wanted to immerse herself in the faith exhibited by the subjects of the manuscript's many pictorial narratives, the dialectic content compulsively attunes to the reader's needs. This is so, and I say compulsively, because the pictorial program comprises various, overlaying networks of devotional *thema* exemplified, not only allowing it, but compelling it to respond to the spiritual needs of the reader with hermeneutically elastic

[101] Masha Raskolnikov, "Confessional Literature, Vernacular Psychology, and the History of the Self in Middle English," *Literature Compass* 2 (2005), 2.
[102] Raskolnikov, "Confessional Literature," 2.

constructions of devotional behavior and spiritual performance. Identity is dynamic and ephemeral, and de Brailes' program not only allows for this but facilitates exploration of self, self-reflection, and the significance of faith to identity.

Another point touched on by Bynum and Kramer, and emphasized by Raskolnikov, was "the self's vulnerability to sin."[103] As I see it, one of the most pronounced themes of the de Brailes Hours is faith and its performance. Moreover, this faith is so very often tested by sin in these pictorial narratives, ever reminding the reader of her vulnerability—but also of her capacity to fortify her faith against sin. Faced with the challenge of keeping faith, we can imagine the reader was armed by Dominican advisors with the new devotional methods of the thirteenth century. The series of characters and cross-references I will analyze all exhibit—and thus model—different kinds of faith performed. Some characters lose faith or it is weakened by circumstances and they become dramatically vulnerable to sin; others hold up absolutely. We have already seen this in concentrated form with Theophilus, but this is but a blip in the fabric of the manuscript's rhetorical and didactic design.

Having placed this manuscript and its assumed reader in a historical and interpretive context, we begin to glean an idea of the circumstances of its reading and thus the experience of its reading. While Dominican preachers devised dilating sermons with the same interwoven rhetorical structure as the pictorial program of the de Brailes Hours, their lay followers took this instruction and applied its many nuanced and malleable elements to their own identity machinations, perhaps consciously or perhaps not. Concisely stated, whatever is written can be *illustrated*.

[103] Raskolnikov, abstract of "Confessional Literature," 1.

I intend to capitalize on the opportunities discovered by scholars such as Wogan-Browne and Kramer, who have revealed not only spaces for women to contemplate and independently interpret the varied and freshly conceptualized devotional instruction they were exposed to, but also the perspective with which they approached it. Utilizing insights from the scholars just discussed, I turn now to the object itself to analyze one of its many thematic matrices, this being specifically the performance of faith.

Chapter 3: Foils of Faith

In this chapter, I will discuss and analyze three sets of foils I find throughout the manuscript. It should be made clear that there are a great many more foils and cross-references to be found and mulled over, but these are the three I find the most poignant and powerful for a female viewer if we have the most essential theme in mind: faith. Though each foil works discretely, we should not consider each discrete, for reading and viewing was a dynamic and cumulative process, and one would be continually reminded of previous images and narratives.

Moving forward through the manuscript's pictorial program we find that it is not precisely chronological. While the historiated initials generally follow along teleological lines, with discrete narratives that jump between biblical and contemporary times, the full-page miniatures pay no attention to these narratives—nor to biblical chronology at times. We will move through the manuscript itself—as the reader might have done.[104] After reviewing each foil I will look at how they all intersect as a whole, emphasizing especially the temporal and cumulative experience of reading. It should be kept in mind that this book of hours was meant for daily reading and that the spiritual condition of the reader would vary from day to day, consequently affecting how the pictorial program was approached, consciously or unconsciously.

The three sets of foils I have chosen are these: Peter and the Wandering Jew (fol. 1r and 43v, respectively) (Figs. 10 & 13), Elizabeth and Joseph (fol. 13v) (Figs.16 & 17), and lastly, David and Susanna (fols. 66r-81r and 90r-96r, respectively). In exploring these

[104] This is one of the qualities of Donovan's *The de Brailes Hours* which is almost universally complimented by reviewers: Henderson, review, 183; Gould, review, 434; Pelteret, review, 457; Hamburger's review of this technique is not so warm, Hamburger, review, 1104. For discussion of the experience of reading books of hours, see Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," *Scrittura e cività* 9 (1985): 239-269.

I will often relate to other historiated initial series, highlighting the matrix of relations I find stretching through the pictorial program, but largely each foil set relates to a devotional 'section' of the manuscript. Peter and the Wandering Jew, and Elizabeth and David are illustrated in the Hours of the Virgin, while David illustrates the Penitential Psalms and Susanna appears in the Gradual Psalms. The textual contents of the manuscript's format, running just so, seem to parallel a kind of spiritual development, from performing devotion to sin and penitence, and finally to an ultimate spiritual graduation. As I will show, the foils of faith follow the same hermeneutic path upward.

PETER AND THE WANDERING JEW

De Brailes begins this new project with a bang: a beautifully illuminated and expertly designed full-page miniature, which serves point in fact as the historiated initial D of *Domine*, marking the start of Matins of the Virgin and the devotional day (Fig. 10). Quite fittingly, de Brailes chose "the dawn of Christ's Passion" to illustrate the dawn of the devotional day, and it most emphatically sets the tone for the rest of the manuscript's pictorial program.[105] In four roundels we see the Betrayal (Fig. 18), the Flagellation of Christ with Peter's first denial (Fig. 19), the Mocking of Christ with Peter's second denial (Fig. 20), and Christ reviled with Peter's third and final denial (Fig. 21). Outside of the roundel and the miniature proper, excommunicated to the right margin, we see Peter weeping with the realization of what he has done (Fig. 22).

As told in all four gospels, Christ predicts at the Last Supper that Peter will deny him: "Amen I say to thee, today, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shall deny me thrice."[106] Peter heeds Christ not at all, sure in his faith. But as the biblical

[105] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 42.
[106] Douay-Rheims Bible, Matthew 26:33-35; the story also found in Mark 14:29-31, Luke 22:33-34, and John 13:36-38.

narrative unfolds, he does indeed refuse to recognize Christ twice; after the third denial, the cock crows for the second time and Peter begins to weep, realizing Christ spoke true.

The first roundel of de Brailes' Matins miniature shows Peter in a moment of faithful bravery, cutting off the ear of Malchus, a servant of Caiaphas, in defense of Christ while the rest of his disciples flee (Fig. 18). Here he stands at the right of Christ, the place of honor, as Judas reaches to kiss him from his left. Posture and gesture is a significant part of de Brailes' visual language,[107] and Peter is pictured here as haloed, limber and dramatic, his body bending along the curve of the roundel; he is not too strongly postured or erect, but his feet are spaced so as to imply balance and ease as he forces back the head of Malchus by his long hair.[108] Overall, we are given the impression that it is an easy and natural task for Peter. He is the sole of Christ's followers that remains standing with him; all others have fled in fear. But this faithfulness and bravery lasts not long, for in the very next roundel Peter is asked by a servant maid if he knows Christ; he holds a banderole of formal Latin script, which reads, NESCIO QUID DICIS, his reply: "I know not what thou sayest."[109] Christ is thrashed just there beside him (Fig. 19). Here Peter is shown almost cowering beneath the interrogating finger of the servant, his palm up in a defensive gesture, communicating his ignorance of Christ. He is no longer haloed, and he is to the left of Christ, the sinister side. These visual cues signal

[107] It is worth quoting Donovan's observation in full: "Gesture, movements of the body, indeed the very size and scale of the figures in relation to one another, are important in defining the dominant figure in the episode, and in showing the sense of self-confidence of a character. Long arms and pointing figures create the dialogue; firmly focused eyes and expressions define the emotions. Crisply drawn and boldly coloured, each element of William's style contributes to his dramatic purpose creating the devotional backdrop to the text." Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 41. De Brailes' use of these visual elements is neither unique nor novel, though it does seem especially marked and powerful.

[108] John 18:10.

[109] Matthew 26:69-70 and John 19:17; Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 20; Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 43.

Peter's failure and loss of status; they communicate that something very different is transpiring.

In the third roundel, that is, the one on the bottom left, Christ is blindfolded and mocked by viciously caricatured Jews (Fig. 20). Behind him stands the same servant woman, pointing up and back toward Christ and forward at Peter in question. Peter has receded further beyond the frame of the roundel, out of sight, as if he is shrinking from the events in the narrative. He is still of smaller stature, very weakly postured, and gesturing pathetically his ignorance. A banderole visualizes his reply, NON SUM.[110] This banderole reaches up to touch a rooster that serves as part of the frame's decoration as well as part of the narrative. In the last roundel, Christ is being reviled by the same caricatured Jews, though he boasts something of a smile (Fig. 21). One of these reviling Jews stretches an arm out to warm his hand by the fire, and Peter mirrors him with a similar gesture.[111] The servant woman's accusatory finger points most emphatically here, seemingly touching Peter's up-turned beard—Peter's chin is thrust out in guilty defense as he denies Christ, mimicking the persecuting Jew's gesture of warming his hand by the fire and turning to walk away free of consequence. His banderole reads NON NOVI HOMINEM, and it too reaches up to join with the second rooster, cuing remembrance of Christ's prophesy.[112] De Brailes deftly depicts Peter in a conflicting state of faith using gesture and body language. He appears to be bluffing his easiness as he warms his hand and dismisses the woman's aggressive pointing. But his weight is not balanced as it was in the first roundel, and his mouth twists into a grimace. As he had in the second and third roundel, here he looks meek even if feigning nonchalance.

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[110] Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 20; Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 43.
[111] John 18:18; Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 43.
[112] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 43.

Finally, just outside the frame, Peter is crouched in utter shame and remorse, weeping for what he has done: "peres plu[re avec] amertu[me]" ("Peter weeps with bitterness") (Fig. 22).[113] He is alone, altogether isolated and exiled outside of the frame. This seems like an outright defeat, one which Peter cannot recover from, and Donovan sees the theme of this miniature opening Matins to be a meditation on betrayal. To me, de Brailes' visual language does not communicate most strongly *betrayal* on Peter's part, but the simple fear and regret of making a grave mistake, *remorse*. Peter did not quit his faith in Christ—he believed in Christ and knew him for the Messiah all the while—but he failed to *perform* this faith. Donovan thinks the reader, whom she calls Susanna, would identify with Peter and "share in his sense of isolation outside the initial frame (a visual equivalent to being outside the state of grace)."[114] I do believe if the reader was an empathetic person she might have felt the pain of Peter, but I do not think she would have identified directly with his situation—we cannot assume she had the experience of such failure and isolation. Instead, I argue that the opening miniature is a meditation on performing faith, a cautionary tale that taps directly and deeply into self-consciousness, for it is Peter's self-consciousness which keeps him from recognizing Christ. Peter's denial is based in fear, a fear rooted in the consciousness of himself; he is not worried for Christ's safety, only for his own. This fear for his own well-being belies his lack of faith, for if he had complete faith he would not be fearful. The reader, a woman, would very likely be familiar with the kind of fear Peter was subject to, a fear that stems from a threatening loss of agency in a situation. In Peter's situation, he reacted to this fear and failed to perform faith—even if it was a doubtful faith, he needed only profess it and this

[113] Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 20. Translation from Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 131.
[114] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 45.

was faith enough. Instead, he denied Christ and reaped the consequences. The reader is left with a moral that punishes not so much a lack of faith—as we will see—but the failure to perform it.

Forty-three folios later, yet again as part of a full-page miniature featuring four roundels, de Brailes depicts the apocryphal story of the Wandering Jew—seemingly for the first time in England (fol. 43v) (Figs. 13 & 23). The first written record of the legend in England appears in Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History* (c. 1236), though it was extant long before this.[115] It had apparently been related to the monks of St Alban's by a visiting Armenian archbishop in 1226, and from here it quickly gained popularity. In Roger's retelling, a Jew stops to mock Christ on the way to Calvary and his crucifixion: "Go quicker, Jesus, go quicker; why do you loiter?" he taunts.[116] The Jew thinks there is no point in tarrying, for judgment had been made. But Christ judges in turn that this Jew will wander the earth until the Second Coming, forced to bear witness to both the beginning and the end of Christian salvation history—and more importantly, he must forever live with his false faith and his dismissal of Christ.[117]

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[115] George K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1965), 18-19.

[116] J.A. Giles, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History,* Vol. II (London: Bohn's Antiquarian Library, 1849): 512-514; Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, 18.

[117] Several aspects of the legend of the Wandering Jew do have what might be called a scriptural basis, while being extra-scriptural strictly speaking. That is, it seems to have grown out of two other stories, the Legend of Malchus and the Legend of St. John: the servant of John 18:10 who has his ear cut off by Peter is named Malchus—a name commonly given the Wandering Jew—is frequently conflated with the unnamed servant of John 18:22, who strikes Jesus. De Brailes illustrates both, Peter striking the ear of Malchus on fol. 1r and a servant slapping Jesus on fol. 32r. The Legend of St. John stems from Matthew 16:28, wherein Jesus proclaims, "Amen I say to you, there are some of them that stand here, that shall not taste death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." While these passages clearly do not add up to the narrative of the Wandering Jew as Roger retells it, they are understood as source material for the development of the legend. Not insignificantly, these passages are the ones drawn upon by de Brailes for his illustration of Matins, fol. 1r—Peter striking the ear from Malchus and denying Christ to the maid servant. Anderson, *Wandering Jew*, 11-15.

The story of the Wandering Jew gains tropological significance through this act of witness: as Roger forebodes, in his eternal wandering he "is still alive in evidence of the Christian faith."[118] This is precisely how Donovan interprets the character, as well as Bradbury. Indeed, it was a long-standing Christian conception of Jews that they served as witnesses to Christian salvation history, this being their only necessary attribute, the only reason they were permitted to continuing practicing their faith. And it is just that which is significant here: faith. As far as we can tell, de Brailes had no visual precedent for the Wandering Jew, just as he had no precedent for the book of hours. His choice in iconography, then, could be very revealing. De Brailes' Wandering Jew appears in the fourth full-page miniature (fol. 43v) (Fig. 13), which depicts Christ's preparation for crucifixion divided into four medallions—just like the *mis-en-page* of folio 1r with Peter's denials. The Wandering Jew, dressed almost precisely as Annas was on the earlier full-page miniature of folio 32r (Fig. 24), points a long, mocking, and denunciatory finger at Christ, his left arm relaxed under his right. Christ bends his neck into that protruding finger, without worry, and meets it with ease. He offers his own pointing gesture, the simple indication of his proclamation: it reads visually and textually more like an observation than a command: "regarde et dit e tu remains ices desque ieo reveine" ("[he] looks and says that you will remain here until I return").[119] Bradbury's description of the scene is worth quoting in full:

> The Wandering Jew points directly to Christ's eye, but his gesture is counterbalanced by one made by Christ, the only of its kind in the manuscript. Christ locks eyes with the Jew, literally looking down at him. Christ's body faces the edge of the image, he is moving, one foot is on the frame ready to leave, but has turned back to condemn the Jew with a firm pointing hand."[120]

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[118] Giles, *Flowers of History,* 512; Anderson, *The Legend*, 18.
[119] Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 22; translation from Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 138.
[120] Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 139.

De Brailes' use of composition and gesture here is subtly dramatic and powerful; the event unfolds in front of the reader. This effect is magnified when we remember that the Wandering Jew was seen as a figure still alive, his existence coeval with our reader's and thus a reality, a very possibly threatening reality.

The Wandering Jew's visage is not grotesque or mocking like the many other Jews tormenting Christ, but he looks rather venerable: bearded, with straight and confident posture and the white robes of a Jewish priest.[121] His lips almost curl into a smile, just as it seems there is glee in the corners of his eyes. The figures behind him, however, grimace with grotesque faces and wait awkwardly for Christ to begin the ritual before his crucifixion. Bradbury gives this character hardly more than a page of interpretation, finding this neutral, if not noble, depiction to stand simply as "an embodiment of the Old Testament."[122] Bradbury's most important point, at least for our purposes, is her observation that "the Wandering Jew is a distinct visual type."

Donovan gives it not much more attention than Bradbury, but she does expiate our understanding of the function of the Legend and particularly how de Brailes used this legend, inserted into the narrative of the journey to Calvary itself, to draw attention to contemporary tensions between Jews and Christians. Here, the Wandering Jew is "a warning that any Jew might be just that Jew."[123] If we take these two observations together, we can see how de Brailes presents the Wandering Jew as the single biblical(-ish) figure that reaches into the reader's own time, making his admonition of Christ a contemporary event, chronologically continuous with her devotions. This is worthy of

[121] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 79.
[122] Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 141.
[123] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 80.

note, for it demonstrated for the reader temporal consequence of her faith and the weight that comes with it.

A more commonly cited occurrence of the legend is Matthew Paris's version in the *Chronica Maiora* of about 1240-1253, where it is also illustrated, though this time in the margin (Fig. 25).[124] In this case, it accompanies the text of the legend, so that the subject of the illustration is clear. In de Brailes' version, we might not recognize the legend were it not for his caption.[125] Of all the possible marginal notes to be made here, de Brailes chooses the one that rings most like Christ's earlier prediction of Peter's denials, stating simply a fact which the subject takes not at all seriously, rather scoffing at it in his confidence. In this way, Peter and the Wandering Jew are no different—and it is de Brailes' captioning and juxtapositions within the full-page Passion miniatures that provoke these semiotic associations.

Yet the Wandering Jew's denial of Christ is ultimately much different than Peter's. In the simplest terms, Peter is an apostle, while the Wandering Jew is just some random Jew—this gives Peter the obvious advantage of favor by virtue of his character. Second, Peter does, in fact, believe in Christ, steadfastly, even if he does not always perform that faith. The Wandering Jew seems to believe in nothing at all, he is relatively indifferent to Christ, but he *does* perform his *disbelief*. Finally, Peter is redeemed, while the Wandering Jew is forever condemned. It seems, then, that performing disbelief is more damning than failing to perform true faith.

Although the Wandering Jew ultimately bore witness to the truth of Christ, he was still forever bound to his folly and stubborn blindness. The narrative fate of Peter places

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[124] Anderson, *The Legend*, 20-21; further discussion can be found in Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 140.

[125] For easy reference, here is the text again: "regarde et dit e tu remains ices desque ieo reveine" ("[he] looks and says that you will remain here until I return").

emphasis on inward faith rather than outward expression, while the Wandering Jew's outward expression is punished because it is the true manifestation of his lack of inward faith, unlike Peter's denials. According to Roger's version, which was likely the source for de Brailes' illustration, the Wandering Jew did not deny Christ strictly speaking. Yet Peter, who denied Christ thrice, returned to good graces (as the Wandering Jew never could) through the performance of his faith, the admission of his mistake. This Peter could do— spiritually prostrate himself—while the Wandering Jew, standing in for Judaism (visually and symbolically), could not and was thus damned. The lesser sin was his, but so was the greater punishment, for he could not confess and perform faith in Christ as Peter did. Certainly, the Wandering Jew plays the standardized tropological role of witness—although the legend was new in England—but I argue that de Brailes takes advantage of this fresh material to create a dialogic foil between Peter's faith and the Jew's arrogance and incredulity.

This juxtaposition is made all the more palpable and elaborate as we move through the devotional day to scenes of the Virgin's Death, where de Brailes takes the opportunity to illustrate the story of the Doubting Jews. This subplot to the Death of the Virgin begins on folio 61v with a historiated initial ('S') (Fig. 26). The upper curve of the 'S' is populated with five Jews, identifiable by their dark, dirty skin, and the bottom curve sports four: nine in total, all with their eyes closed. These are the nine Jews struck blind for their disbelief, despite being present at the burial of the Mother of Christ: 'le giues aveoglerent' (the Jews become blind').[126] The text works hand in hand with de Brailes' illustration, as Psalm 130 begins, "Let Israel hope in the Lord."[127] And with this, the sight of one hopeful Jew is restored by Peter (fol. 62v) (Fig. 27), who compelled a

[126] Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 23. Translation courtesy of Joan A. Holladay.
[127] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 99.

proclamation of faith: "un de giues crie merci a scein pere. sein pere lui demande si il creit en ihu, il dit oil. sein pere le baut [du dra]p dunt le cors [nr d]ame fu covert…d sas ous veit" ("one of the Jews begs mercy from St. Peter. St. Peter asks him if he adores Jesus, he says yes. Peter takes the cloth that covered the body of our Lady [and] brings it to his [the Jew's] eyes").[128] The next folio pictures this cured Jew, who now believes in the divinity of Mary (and thus Christ), restoring the sight of another of his blinded 'countrymen' (fol. 63r) (Fig. 28). This initial seems to indicate that it is the Virgin's pall that holds the curing miracle, as that is what has been rubbed miraculously on the eyes of the blinded Jews. Yet the next initial of folio 63v shows us that it is indeed *not* the pall, but the profession of belief, for the first Jew fails to cure the third countryman with the pall because he will not profess his belief in the Virgin (Fig. 29). In perfect harmony of text and image, this final illustration appropriately marks the start of the hymn *Virgo singularis*.[129]

Donovan tracks de Brailes' textual source for this legend, and the greater legend of the Death of the Virgin, to the work of Pseudo-Melito.[130] The trope of the blind Jew is a long-standing one, right at the heart of Christian conceptions of Jews' role in Christendom, and it also figures prominently in the work of Pseudo-Melito. It is not necessarily an odd inclusion in the Death of the Virgin series (in fact, it could be expected), but this hardly strips it of its meaning. The first level of meaning, perhaps the most obvious, would be its simple current of fairly typical (if particularly acute) thirteenth-century antisemitism; as we have seen, this aspect of the de Brailes Hours has caught the eye of many and rightfully so. But there is a second layer of meaning that I

[128] Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 23; translation from Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 144-145.
[129] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 101.
[130] Ibid., 102.

would like to highlight: the inclusion of this story and the emphasis on Peter's *demand* of faith relates directly back to his denials at the start of the manuscript. When the reader sees Peter again here, in the context of Jews being miraculously cured of their blindness through the profession of their new, *true* faith, she is encouraged to think again of the manuscript's *first* introduction of Peter and the almost pure emphasis on faith's profession in both stories. What is more, we *see* for the first time that intercession is sometimes necessary, and the relapsed or reformed believer need not be faulted for his faltering faith, given he professes it. Peter needed a second chance for redemption, just as he and the Virgin helped the Jews in finding true faith. The Peter who denies Christ on folio 1r is redeemed through the Virgin for his utter faith, and with help he is able to *perform* his faith this time—a faith so strong, in a power so strong, that even a blind Jew is able to gain faith like Peter, and perform it in just the same way. Just as the first series of Peter punished failure to perform faith, this dialectic rewards the successful performance of faith while also reinforcing the ideal that *true* faith is required—the Wandering Jew lacks faith and is condemned, and the third Jew performs *false* faith and is condemned. In just the same way, the blindness of the Jews at the Virgin's burial relates directly back to the Wandering Jew as a *witness*: he saw the truth of Christ, and will presumably see his Second Coming. Yet, it is the more threatening Jews of the Virgin's burial who can be, and are, redeemed. This shows that redemption is by no means to be taken for granted: there are always conditions.

This seems to be the true point of contention: the heart's knowledge/acknowledgment of Christ and the true religion, not just the acting out of faith. Peter is redeemed for he knew and believed in his heart the divine nature of Christ, while this fact seemed entirely erroneous to the Wandering Jew, to whom it mattered little who Christ was, only that he had been judged. The same holds for the blinded Jews

of the Virgin's burial: the blinded Jews who professed a faith that truly existed in their hearts were healed, while the Jew who only *performed* this faith, without knowing it, was left blind. I would like to draw attention to the accordance here of the recent emphasis on *understanding* faith in the thirteenth century (as opposed to a superficially acted faith) and the need for the Jews to have true belief in their hearts.

Bradbury makes the interesting observation that de Brailes "deploys a constructed Jew in only one other situation [than the opening of Matins]—in a series of historiated initials illustrating the Death of the Virgin at Compline."[131] Coeval with the meaning Bradbury makes of this observation, I would like to note how this pictorial device cues the scene of Compline, at the end of the day, back to the scene of Matins, at its beginning, so that both performances of Peter are tied together by a sort of direct visual reference. Through this pictorial allusion, the reader is invited to think dialogically about the two narratives, their tropological significance, and what they mean practically for her devotions. In essence, she is shown in visualized form the new importance of a true understanding of the Creed as the foundation of faith. She is shown different levels of redemption, after different levels of sin, which all require essentially the same thing: faith in the heart and an understanding of that faith in the mind.

The failure of the believing Jew to restore the sight of a non-believing countryman is followed by one of de Brailes' 'patron' portraits, a woman praying (fol. 64v) (Fig. 5). She is a reminder to keep faith, and to keep *performing* faith, an opportunity to see herself as a model of faith, to see herself praying in the very book she uses when she prays. Just by virtue of this opportunity to *see* herself portrayed as a

[131] Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining," 142.

faithful model—following this allusion to blindness—the reader's (self-)consciousness is devotionally reinforced.

This ties up the first third of the manuscript's devotional program as I have sketched it out. It is the first step in the daily practice of devotion: the simple act of the praying the Hours, no matter the character of the reader's faith. In the course of this practice, the reader is presented with several sets of foils (Peter and the Wandering Jew, the Wandering Jew and the cured Jews, Peter and the cured Jews, and so on) all demonstrating varieties of faith and how it is performed, and the consequences of each. This particular set of *exempla*—as I have noticed and picked them out for examination here—is one of the less accessible sets. That is, though Donovan wanted the reader to empathize with Peter, Peter is not a character with which our reader would especially share any attributes. He is a man, with a significant role in the New Testament narrative, and participates in situations our reader would not find relatable, as she would not have been permitted there. On the other hand, the Wandering Jew is meant as a negative example—he would not be presented as a proper model of faith or a figure for association if the reader were viewing this program along its prescriptive lines.

But Peter and the Wandering Jew are far from the only examples of performing faith, and as we move through the manuscript—yes, even before encountering the Wandering Jew—we are introduced to an even more intimately tied foil, Elizabeth and Joseph.

ELIZABETH AND JOSEPH

The next section of the manuscript's devotional program can be summarily typified by the juxtaposition of Elizabeth and Joseph on folio 13v. These two characters, so close to Mary, model two different means of having and performing faith. Neither is

precisely wrong, but they are different in significant ways and provide the reader with options for association. It is entirely possible, and quite expected by pastoral authorities, for our reader's faith to waver and change in intensity or nature from day to day. One day she might find herself relating more to Joseph than Elizabeth, or the other way around. But before we explore these implications, let us examine the faith of these two models.

Following the full-page Passion installment of folio 1r are scenes from the life of the Virgin, beginning with her conception. Joachim and Anna illustrate most of Matins, and as Matins turns to Lauds, the childhood of the Virgin turns slowly to the birth of Christ.

To end the hour that began with Peter's denials, de Brailes illustrates the Visitation, the moment Elizabeth recognizes Mary as the mother of Christ. On folio 13v the last initial of Matins is historiated with Elizabeth's faithful embrace of Mary (Fig. 16). Mary is shown in the same traditional veil of orange-red and pink she is seen in throughout the manuscript, her arms wrapped around Elizabeth completely. Elizabeth sports "a thirteenth-century type of pill-box hat," not unlike the Susanna pictured later.[132] This is consistent with de Brailes' mode of depicting women, married or otherwise, in his pictorial program(s).[133] It distinguishes Elizabeth as a lesser figure than Mary, through the disparity created by the passage of time, while also making Elizabeth the more relatable, easily accessible figure. The reader is encouraged to associate herself with Elizabeth, first visually, for she was probably dressed more like Elizabeth than Mary. Then, as the visual takes on meaning and the reader moves through the pictorial narrative,

[132] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 51.

[133] As has been pointed out, it is not inconsistent with de Brailes' other works. See discussion on page 12, footnotes 39 and 42.

we see that Elizabeth is the faithful foil to doubting Joseph, and this further encourages faithful behavior after association on a visual basis.

Just below the Visitation, in the first initial of Lauds, Joseph is pictured asleep as an angel comes to comfort him in a dream (Fig. 17). While Elizabeth's faith was instantaneous, Joseph doubted Mary's pregnancy at first: "whereupon Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not willing publicly to expose her, was minded to put her away privately."[134] This is, after all, part of Mary's path to visiting Elizabeth. Joseph had his best faith at heart, not wanting to ruin the name of his wife, though this also meant he had no faith, first, in his wife, and second, in God. To some extent, Joseph can be forgiven his humble disbelief; it might be quite assuming to believe too readily in one's role in salvation history. Indeed, the juxtaposition of Elizabeth and Joseph on folio 13v *is* sharp, but it is not meant in criticism or opposition: Elizabeth and Joseph simply display different paths to and different performances of faith. The ideal for the manuscript's owner would be to read and view this devotional program each and every day, so it is a testament to de Brailes' acumen that it should include *exempla* for a whole range of spiritual conditions the reader might find herself in on any given day. However, it is also interesting to me that de Brailes should depict these scenes out of order. He gives us first the unflinching faith of Elizabeth, a strong embrace recalling the earlier embrace that heralded the birth of the Virgin.[135] He follows this with the more timid Joseph, who needed a little help along to fulfill his faith. First, he provides a positive, female model, *then* he provides the less ideal, male model. Joseph is much like Peter in this way: he needs a second chance to find his faith, and this holds true for many of the male models of the pictorial program. However, the women, such as Elizabeth, need no second

[134] Matthew 1:19-20.
[135] We will return to this in a moment.

chances and fall straight to their faith. This is a trend I find intriguing, particularly if we have a female reader in mind.

As Donovan and Roger Wieck note, it would become quite common to illustrate the beginning of Lauds with the Visitation, and de Brailes places it on the same folio, directly before the first initial of Lauds, if not the exact start of Lauds. There is nothing so very remarkable at all about this scene or its depiction; it is not erroneous, yet it is also not especially unique in and of itself. Yet, I see these two historiated initials of folio 13v as more than just an obligatory or customary biblical narrative inclusion. At the very least it seems that de Brailes unconsciously or consciously created a dialectic between the two characters, which prompts (self-)reflection on the many varieties of faith.

More than Peter and the Wandering Jew, the foil of Elizabeth and Joseph *visually* tie together lines of association, stitching the manuscript's pictorial and rhetorical program together. Just as no one canticle or psalm is seen or said alone in the process of reading a book of hours, a single scene of seemingly little significance, such as the Visitation, can gain many different layers of meaning when it is understood as an anchor, a fixed point in a matrix of cross-references. The visualization of Elizabeth and Joseph's faiths serves as a fastening point for cross-references that stretch back toward the beginning of the manuscript and forward toward the end.

Indeed, the embrace of Elizabeth and Mary mirrors almost perfectly that of Anna and Joachim nearly 10 folios earlier (fol. 5v) (Fig. 30). Their embrace comes after two historiated initials of struggle and two of triumph: first, Joachim's offering is denied at the Temple, and then, on the same page, Anna is chastised for her barrenness by a handmaiden (fol. 1v) (Figs. 31 & 32). Following these are two initials of Annunciation, one to Joachim (fol. 3v) and one to Anna (fol. 4r) (Figs. 33 & 34, respectively). The annunciations are spread across an opening, Joachim on the left and Anna on the right.

However, their hardships are shared on a single folio, like Elizabeth's faith and Joseph's doubt. Joachim is turned away from the Temple in the historiated initial D of folio 1v. He appears as the most distinguishable figure, intuitively indicating him as the main character, in red and blue robes. He holds a small object, likely a small coin purse, and his hand is lifted up in offering. He seems to stand on the tips of his toes, though with his face cast downward and his eyes up at the *eveske*, so that he conveys a fairly clear sense of supplication and humiliation. The Jewish priest, though labelled by de Brailes as a bishop (*eveske*), wears a bishop's hat and white/pink robes and stands over the altar with his palm out—asking, yet rejecting Joachim's offering. He seems the largest of all the figures, the most dominating, and this is accentuated by the tip of his miter breaking from the frame of the initial. What I find to be a particularly subtle tool of de Brailes in constructing this Jewish *eveske* is his consistent use of color and proportion running from the torso of the figure to the base of the altar: without paying close attention, the altar can appear to be nothing more than the lower half of the priest's body. If it is uncritically (that is, casually) understood as a single figure, top and bottom, yet with legs of stone construction, it is easy to take de Brailes' *eveske* as the literal Temple. This sort of symbolism was certainly not unheard of, in fact, the Virgin Mary was very often described as *Ecclesia*, the literal Church symbolized. So, as we move on to examine closer the story of Anna and Joachim and to contextualize it within the pictorial program's other foils, I would like us to remember this small detail about de Brailes' choice in depicting the *eveske* who scolds Joachim. It would also be pertinent to remember that this *eveske* is garbed in white, just as the Wandering Jew is.

Nine rows of text below Joachim, Anna is chastised by her handmaiden, Judith, in the initial 'V' of Venite. She stands to the left, opposite of Joachim, who stands to the right. She wears red and blue robes, just like Joachim, and a white pill-box hat, just like

Elizabeth and Susanna. She is also the more dominant figure in the scene, if only for her size. In fact, her posture is rather quite meek and submissive; she wrings her hands and furrows her brow while the smaller, more grotesque handmaiden gestures her disapproval wildly. Yet, the calmness of Anna gives her much more grace over the brusqueness of the handmaiden, whose face is precisely the type de Brailes favors for depicting unfavorable Jewish sorts, such as those on folios 1r, 43v, and 63v most significantly (Figs. 10, 13, & 29, respectively). It is a striking caricature, and I believe it would have been noticeable beyond the most basic vernacular visual language—that is, de Brailes depicted this castigating handmaiden in an especially egregious, especially *Jewish* manner in order to prompt an association. So do please keep this, as well as the depiction of the *eveske* above, in mind as we explore de Brailes' matrix of meaning. If we look to their whole story it will become apparent, now and later, that de Brailes' manipulation of these small similarities is not without consequence.[136]

Anna and Joachim were the children of important tribes of Israel, but after many years of marriage they were still childless themselves. After a long period without bearing any children, Anna was rebuked by her handmaiden: "de ast[r]et baraine" ("[Judith] [criticizes] Anna for being barren").[137] Similarly, Joachim's offering to the Temple was refused by the high priest, because only a profane union would not produce children—they must have been shunned by God, and so they were shunned by their community. Joachim reacts by taking his flock into the mountains, secluding himself in

[136] I do not wish to make the argument that de Brailes was fully aware of the construct of his pictorial program; that is, I cannot say this manipulation had clear, premeditated intent behind it. Nevertheless, de Brailes was an exceptional illuminator (as Cockerell notes, "Description of Brailes Horae," 11), and it seems fair, if only by the complexity of the manuscript's visual devotional program, that de Brailes did create it with compete cognizance.

[137] Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 20. Translation courtesy of Joan. A. Holladay.

shame. Anna takes to her garden and prays vehemently. She is answered with a visit by the Archangel Gabriel, who announces to her the coming of a blessed child.[138]

Elizabeth's recognition is immediate and without doubt; yes, she is nudged to the conclusion by the kicking John the Baptist, but her absolute resolution to it is quite prescient, beyond faithful. In just the same way, Anna goes without hesitation to pray in the garden, while her husband despairs alone in the mountains—she shows no doubt of the next right step, faith and prayer.

The reaction of Joseph to Mary's mysterious pregnancy is not so very different from Joachim's reaction to Anna's barrenness—Joseph sends his wife away in shame and is alone in his doubt, just as Joachim sends himself away in shame. Neither Joseph nor Joachim pray for help or guidance, as Anna does. These behaviors, these reactions of Anna and Joachim prefigure, on one level, the reaction of Elizabeth and Joseph—the woman reacts first with faith, while the man needs a moment of spiritual relapse before returning to full faith. On another level, they are examples of faith in a different context, unrelated to Elizabeth and Joseph. That is, until the simultaneous annunciations, neither Anna nor Joachim had any reason to believe they would bear a child and that God had not indeed forsaken them. In a logical sense, the information they had to work with in forming and performing their faith was quite different from what was available to Mary and Joseph—and Peter and the Wandering Jew, for that matter. These small contextual differences allowed the reader to come with any problem to her devotional program and see her situation somehow reflected in it; she could see how she might have reason for faith right in front of her, she needed only to perform that faith, or how her faith might only be justified after her performance of it.

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[138] M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 38-49.

Just as Elizabeth and Mary's embrace recalls Joachim and Anna's preceding (and prefiguring) one, the angel visiting Joseph in his sleep prepares us for the Magi's Dream of folio 21r (Fig. 35). De Brailes takes the time to truly detail the peril of Christ in his infancy from folios 14v to 24r, ending Lauds with the Flight into Egypt. The historiated initial of folio 21r shows an angel visiting the three Magi in their sleep—just as one visited Joseph—to warn them away from Herod. Since the three Magi already held faith in the object of their journey, however, this somnoptic visitation served a different purpose—in the biblical narrative, as well as in the pictorial program's rhetorical design. Immediately after the Magi's diversion in Matthew 2:1-12, Joseph is visited yet again, this time to be warned of Herod precisely as the Magi had been.[139] Yet de Brailes does not illustrate Joseph's second dream, moving from the Magi's return journey (fol. 23r) to the Massacre of the Innocents (fol. 23v)[140] and finally the Flight into Egypt (fol. 24r) ending Lauds. This dream would not serve the same dialectical function within the context of the program's foils and cross-references, and so it seems de Brailes did not feel compelled to include the scene.

Furthermore, the Magi's dream scene appears alone on an opening that has several unillustrated folios between it and the next historiated initial, on both sides, while Joseph's dream is positioned immediately adjacent to the Visitation scene and Elizabeth's faith. Though the initial of the Magi's dream later in the manuscript would almost certainly call up the scene of Joseph, seeing as they mirror each other, the more pointed juxtaposition is decidedly between Elizabeth and Joseph. The Magi's dream serves more as a visual/narrative device to soften the weakness of Joseph by normalizing the role of

[139] Matthew 2:1-13.

[140] De Brailes' Massacre of the Innocents is a graphic scene and uses iconography consistent with the antisemitism throughout the manuscript. I do believe there are other foils to be seen and associations to be made here, but I cannot begin to explore this them in this thesis.

dream visitation in the biblical narrative, particularly with a view to faith. In any case, these visual parallels invite investigation between visual narratives, wherein exegetical and moralizing themes play off each other in a kind of crosstalk.

Elizabeth and Joseph model two different paths to faith, each acceptable in their own right, though of clearly different natures. In the matrix of visually and narratologically linked *themata* in this section of the manuscript, we see the women falling to their faith immediately and without abandon, while the men require encouragement. This allows for two possibilities: first, it shows the presumably, and in all likelihood, female reader that women have a superior strength of faith, and second, it also allows the reader *options* for how to perform and maintain her faith—an option for very faith-filled days, and an option for those days of doubt.

While these readings of the pictorial program may not have been the exact or full intent of de Brailes or a possible Dominican advisor, they were likely the most accessible for the reader, and thus the most immediate or impressive. It would have been a message sent plainly and received clearly every day for a woman who read her book of hours and studied its images regularly and attentively. As we will see with the last example, it is a clear trend that within the dialogic models of faith we have seen in this pictorial program, this concession of requiring help toward faith is seemingly only made by—and only necessary for—men.

Now would be a most propitious time to take a step back and a wider view of this pictorial program, just as I have taken us through it in single experiential manner. If it seems this has been a hyperactive, or distracted, or perhaps scattered experience, it is only because that is the precise function of de Brailes' program: the narrative, rhetorical, devotional, and visual experience of moving through this book of hours is by absolutely no means meant to be monolithic, but quite the opposite. On any given day, in any given

circumstance, with any given sermon in her mind, or mood in her heart, the reader could have approached these images and *chosen* the path she wanted or needed to take through them in order for her devotional needs to be met. That is, perhaps one day she is struck especially by the meaning of an embrace, so she turns from Judas and Christ (fol. 1r) (Fig. 18) to Anna and Joachim (fol. 5v) (Fig. 30), to Elizabeth and Mary (fol. 13v) (Fig. 16), and perhaps Elizabeth's unquestioning faith leads her to the story of Susanna and the Elders, or perhaps Judas' betrayal and Peter's denials lead her to the failure and redemption of Theophilus, or David. These few threads I have laid out are only but a few of the many possibilities, and they are the ones based most strongly on visual association and the *thema* of faith—but that is hardly all the de Brailes Hours has to offer. Notwithstanding, there is only so much that can be explored in a contained monograph, so I must, regrettably, stop within the reasonable bounds of this *thema*, and turn to its final set of *exempla*. The pattern of discernably female faith, arguably superior and lately modeled by Anna and Elizabeth, will be followed by the faltering and profound penance of David and the complete faith of Susanna, reinforcing the message even further for the reader. It will also demonstrate again the following of different paths to faith, as the characters of this section found their way to faith by different paths.

DAVID AND SUSANNA

The final third of the manuscript's devotional program focuses more pointedly on the ultimate consequences, the weight, of performing, or *failing* to perform, faith.

It begins with the Seven Penitential Psalms illustrated by David's penance after his sin against Uriah the Hittite. As author of the Psalms in popular imagination, David was the best and most obvious choice for illustration; just as the Visitation would become

the standard for illustrating Lauds, David would be to the Penitential Psalms.[141] Aside from being the author, he was an obvious choice for his weakness to sin and his readiness to repent. As we have reviewed, confession and penance was a significant part of pastoral care, especially after the Fourth Lateran Council. As Donovan notes, David was seen as an excellent model of penitence, for the sins he fell prey to were the same sins tempting the average thirteenth-century layperson.[142] In this sense, David is the realistic model of faith and devotion for the reader of this manuscript. As the pictorial program has continually shown, not every biblical figure can boast of perfect faith; yet, even after doubt and denial—and sin—one can be redeemed, if only one *performs* proper faith, and in this case, penance. So the first *exemplum* of the last third of the manuscript is the imperfect faith and redemption of David.

David's sin is shown not at all, but rather the series begins with his repentance—for David's sin is a given, and it is his path back to salvation that is important here. First, David is indicted for his sin by the prophet Nathan (fol. 66r) (Fig. 36)—and it visually rings so like Anna's handmaiden chastising her for her barrenness (Fig. 32). David sits on his throne with his scepter to the left in the initial 'D' of Psalm 6, his chin upturned almost as if in defiance against Nathan's gestured rebuke. The text and image again in perfect harmony, the psalm begins, "O Lord, rebuke me not in thy indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath."[143] Upon the advice of Nathan, David buries himself, symbolic of the burial of his sin, until he is forgiven; and so he is shown, dirt up to his neck, praying to God for forgiveness (fol. 67v) (Fig. 37). Several folios later (fol. 69r) (Fig. 38) he is shown again in prayer, though this time above ground, holding a banderole as a

[141] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 23.
[142] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 105.
[143] Ibid.

hand reaches down from the heavens to touch his chin. De Brailes' caption reads "la cumenca les vii psaumes" ("here commence the seven psalms"),[144] and David's banderole runs directly into the text of the psalms, making crystal clear with the hand of God that he is receiving divine inspiration for the Seven Penitential Psalms.

But David's penance is not over yet: folio 72r details his flagellation, he kneels over as he is whipped by a priest, his shirt pulled up to his shoulders exposing his bare back (Fig. 39). In the nearby Psalm 37 the text reads, "For I am ready for scourges," and this is exactly the sentiment illustrated.[145] David does not balk at his punishment but understands that this is one way of performing faith. But as Donovan simply yet eloquently puts, "David's psalms of penance speak of trust as well as anguish."[146] Though the process of performing his faith is painful, if it is not performed, it is not true faith and counts for naught. David shows his faith two-fold: first, faith is shown just in his willingness to perform it—for this performance of faith is a painful one—and second, the performance itself is faith enacted.

The Penitential Psalms are followed by the Litany of Saints and these are illustrated by a "powerful" image of Christ enthroned, "his right hand raised in judgment" (fol. 81r) (Fig. 40).[147] This follows naturally from David's penitential series, for it was Christ's judgment that he sinned and that he do penance to be forgiven. However, it is also exceptionally suited for the series to come: the story of Susanna and the Elders.

De Brailes ends Collects with two portraits of a woman in prayer, and his last self-portrait (fols. 87v, 88r, and 88v) (Figs. 7, 8, & 4 respectively). The very next historiated initial marks the beginning of the Gradual Psalms and shows Susanna calling

144 Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 23. Translation courtesy of Joan A. Holladay.
145 Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 107.
146 Ibid., 109.
147 Ibid., 110.

out to God in her misfortune.[148] The Gradual Psalms were 15 psalms, Psalm 119-127, that we understood in relation to the fifteen steps Mary walked up to the Temple for Presentation. As part of this, they were seen especially as psalms of graduation to different (higher) spiritual levels. As Donovan puts it, "by degrees, by the steps of the Gradual Psalms, spiritual enrichment is gained."[149] They are, then, in many ways the spiritual peak of the manuscript's devotional program. The Gradual Psalms were not hugely popular and were not usually included in standard books of hours; in fact, they find no place in Wieck's brief, but ever-helpful catalog of books of hours and their contents.[150] They were more common in England, but even there they fell out of use toward the fifteenth century.[151] If they were read according to regular rule, as they were meant to be, they would have been read at the beginning of the day, before Matins, as prescribed by the *Regularis Concordia*.

Nevertheless, de Brailes chose to include these psalms at the very end of the manuscript, and he chose a story for illustration that gains much in the building up of narrative, but is no less significant, if contextually and thus hermeneutically different, when it is read at the very start of the day.

Having gone through the devotional and pictorial program thus far, leading up to this series, it is not hard to imagine why Donovan is so inclined to favor Susanna as the namesake of the manuscript's reader; de Brailes builds momentum continuously up to this point, where these patron portraits are featured, and Susanna performs a ultimate faith.

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148 Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 116.
149 Ibid., 115.
150 Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, "Table of Contents;" Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, "Table of Contents."
151 Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 115.

Susanna's story is a simple, if terrifying one. She was the wife of a Jewish man, Joachim, who was well respected in his community. So well respected in fact that their house was often the meeting place for Jewish elders. One evening, as two Jewish elders were leaving the house, they saw Susanna washing herself in the orchard. They were filled with lust and hatched a plan to trap her. They approached Susanna and offered her two choices: she could lie with them and sin, or they would publically proclaim that they saw her lying with another man. Stuck between a rock and a hard place, Susanna chose to be accused of sin, rather than commit it, for her ultimate fate would be the better if she remained true and faithful. Nevertheless, she was frightened at her future judgment in the temporal realm, so she cried out to God for deliverance. She was brought before the community's judges and the conniving elders gave their false testimony. All seemed lost for Susanna when Daniel the prophet appeared to intervene. He cross-examined the elders and caught them in an inconsistency: the kind of tree Susanna and her 'lover' laid under. The true motive of the elders was revealed, and Susanna was vindicated.

Not unlike the David series, no event before Susanna's complete surrender to the Lord is shown, but rather the narrative picks up precisely at this point. Susanna is alone, prostrated in desperate prayer after the Elders had entrapped her (Fig. 41). As de Brailes has proven to excel at, this is so perfectly suited to the main text of psalm it accompanies: "O Lord, deliver my soul from wicked lips and a deceitful tongue."[152] She has offered her fate entirely to God, for she would rather sin in name than sin in flesh. The next historiated initial is on the verso of the very same folio and shows Susanna brought before a Jewish judge, differentiated (in many ways) by de Brailes with the round cap (fol. 90v) (Fig. 42). His hands are on his knees and his elbows out, a very human posture

[152] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours,* 116.

of confidence in judgment, but nothing at all like Christ's Judgment of folio 81r (Fig. 40). He looks calm and dismissive—sure of himself and his judgment. Impressively, Susanna is no less sure: she meets his gaze, erect, with her hands held together in the *orans* gesture, professing her complete innocence. She doubts not and sins not, as Peter and Joachim and Joseph and David did—not even for a moment. But in the next historiated initial (fol. 91v), the focus shifts dramatically away from Susanna to Daniel (Fig. 43). Daniel, in the same red and blue, though reversed, as the judge behind him (and many of the significant characters in de Brailes' biblical narratives), points an interrogatory finger at one of the thin, bearded Elders dressed in white. The Elder looks small and frail next to the figures of Daniel and the judge, but his hand is raised and his finger pointed *up* in protestation, answering Daniel's queries. On the next opening, Daniel questions the second Elder, though he is not shown as a full figure, and this time the Elder points his arm *down* and his finger is pointed dramatically *up*. Daniel's gesture (and even the judge's posture) remains consistent, but the sharp change in the Elders' gesture signals the inconsistency in their accounts. And indeed, on the opposite page of the same opening, the Elders are shown exposed, the judge's finger raised in admonition (Fig. 44). In the historiated initial of the next opening, these Elders are shown in the fire, reprimanded and prodded deeper into the flames by a younger, handsome man (fol. 94r) (Fig. 45). We only see Susanna again on folio 95r, and she looks almost precisely as she did on folio 90r, only here she is in a white robe and sports a small, easy smile—the smile of faith fulfilled (Fig. 46). With this second portrait, it would seem the narrative is at a natural end; however, in the next opening de Brailes drives home the moral by showing Susanna's soul carried up to heaven. This is not without some real significance. As I interpret it, Susanna's tribulation was parenthesized by prayer—by *faith*—and it is by this complete faith that she is able to ascend to heaven. It should be noted that her

performance of faith and her salvation requires no speech, no overtly devotional or penitential act.

Almost every interpreter of Susanna's story, Late Antique or contemporary, primary or secondary, observes to some degree the import of her silence. While I have not found any work to analyze it directly, it inarguably plays a role in the story and will have its part in my interpretation. Susan Sered and Samuel Cooper examine the Susanna parable as a case of moral strength behind structural weakness, and inarticulation is one symptom or subdivision of that weakness. Sered and Cooper begin by setting out a list of the dichotomies between Susanna and the Elders point by point: "Susanna is to the Elders as female is to male, good is to bad, old is to young," and so on.[153] It is a helpful list, and shows very clearly the structural weakness/moral strength of Susanna compared to the structural strength/moral weakness of the Elders. Sered and Cooper's argument hinges on the opposing of these characters dichotomously, and though Daniel interrupts this system, they account for him as a transformative character—he is the one who gives power to Susanna.[154] Ultimately, they are arguing that the story of Susanna functioned to clear up any ambiguity about the power of women, that is, to limit it.[155] While Sered and Cooper's beginning is strong, I quickly begin to take issue with it, especially as they consider Daniel. Because many of my objections demonstrate the apparent use of the parable in the de Brailes Hours, I will use Sered and Cooper often as a springboard.[156] In fact, their discussion of Daniel is worth quoting in full:

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[153] Susan Sered and Samuel Cooper, "Sexuality and Social Control: Anthropological Reflections on the Book of Susanna," in *The Judgment of Susanna: Authority and Witness*, ed. Ellen Spolsky (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 43-44.

[154] Sered and Cooper, "Sexuality and Social Control," 46.

[155] Ibid., 49.

[156] I do not mean to argue that Sered and Cooper are incorrect or that our interpretations are mutually exclusive. I am simply taking a different interpretive approach according to the context of the de Brailes Hours and its contents.

> …if the binary scheme which we have presented is 'true,' one would expect that Susanna's vindication would come about through unqualified divine intervention in order for the community to witness that Susanna's piety elicited divine reward. This kind of finale would clarify that Susanna was being honored for her moral superiority without muddying the stage with any shred of structural strength. Instead, Susanna's vindication comes about through a human source, Daniel, who is far more concerned with condemning the Elders than with championing Susanna. In fact, Susanna's piety is irrelevant to Daniel's legal machinations. Her moral strength is not really rewarded; rather, the Elders' behavior is condemned.[157]

First, the truth of their binary scheme is not dependent upon the outcome of the story, or more specifically, the reason for that outcome. Second, the meaning of this story for our reader was not in the community witnessing Susanna's faith and its reward; Susanna's faith and honor is indelibly hers, it cannot be taken away after it is performed in the denial of the Elders. Further to this point, she is never truly given structural strength—she is given precisely divine intervention, in the figure of Daniel as *deus ex machina* who is likewise a character without structural strength. Sered and Cooper do distinguish the nature of Daniel's narrative character as someone appearing "out of the blue," and as someone capable of observing and commenting on the problems of a community that the community itself cannot see or discuss: "the challenge to the Elders could not be made by anyone other than an innocent outsider, naïve in the ways of society yet speaking the truth."[158] To me, this describes perfectly the narrative device of *deus ex machina*, and I would argue this is how our reader would have understood Daniel's intervention: not as an independently willful young man interested in justice, thus the one to invest Susanna with power, but as the actual manifestation of Susanna's power in faith. His intervention is nothing less than divine, and though his concern may

[157] Sered and Cooper, "Sexuality and Social Control," 45-46.
[158] Ibid., 46.

be with justice, irrelevant of Susanna, Susanna's salvation is equally irrelevant to Daniel's concerns; it is not his will that sends him there, but God's.[159]

To be sure, Susanna does speak, but only once, after the approach of the Elders: "I am straitened on every side: for if I do this thing, it is death to me: and if I do it not, I shall not escape your hands. *But it is better for me to fall into your hands without doing it, than to sin in the sight of the Lord*."[160] The function of the single utterance in the parable is to show pointblank that Susanna is indeed *not* powerless—she is fully aware of the decision she is making, and not struck dumb by shock or simplicity (as Sered and Cooper would seem to have it).[161] Furthermore, this decision is not based in her structural weakness—though she is structurally weak, and though she is fully cognizant of it, it does not factor into her faith. Even with this speech, which serves so much more like an inner prayer shared with God than a reply to the Elders, her silence gained much significance early on.[162] Orosius, a student of Augustine of Hippo, used Susanna and the Elders in his defense against accusations of Pelagianism: he cites his silence up until that point as like in kind to Susanna's silence and the accusations like those of the Elders.[163] Innocence needs no voice. This is perhaps the most significant implication of Susanna's silence, for it reinforces her innocence and the power she has in faith; her silence is borne of—and proof of—her complete faith. De Brailes does not caption Susanna's pivotal declaration of faith, but simply the cry she utters just afterward.[164] This choice by de

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[159] In fact, the observation of Daniel as *deus ex machina* and the powerlessness and silence of Susanna is recorded in the introduction to the volume in which Sered and Cooper's essay is included: Ellen Spolsky, "Introduction" to *The Judgment of Susanna: Authority and Witness* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 1.
[160] Daniel 13:22-23. Emphasis my own.
[161] Sered and Cooper, "Sexuality and Social Control," 44.
[162] Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "The Journey of Susanna Among the Church Father," in *The Judgment of Susanna: Authority and Witness*, ed. Ellen Spolsky (Atlanta: Scholars), 21-34.
[163] Catherine Brown Tkacz, "Susanna as a Type of Christ," *Studies in Iconography* 20 (1999): 103.
[164] See again pages 15 and 16 for transcription and translation.

Brailes, while possibly only one of convenience for himself, renders Susanna fully inarticulate, and this silence completes the symmetry of faith in prayer that encapsulates Susanna's narrative. The implication of this devotional corona is the power and safety of faith.

Returning to the research of Kramer touched upon earlier, we can see very keenly the real magnitude of Susanna's silence. Not only does she excavate the "dialectic of personalism and community, interior and exterior," a central theme in the story of Susanna, she indicates the new growing influence of personal, *nonverbal*, devotion.[165] This apparently held special relevance for women; Abelard (a large actor in the development of this penitential theory) believed this nonverbal devotion was "the special power of women's prayer."[166] Significantly, Abelard develops a sermon directly based on Susanna, matching her silence to Christ's, and places great weight on her silent communion with God.[167] Interestingly, Peter's denials also have a large place in Abelard's theory of confession and contrition.[168] It cannot be taken lightly then, the verbal reserve of Susanna, for not only does it show the reader the power in faith, but the way to direct communion with God.

Alternately, the entire performance of David's faith is in his speech, in his plea for forgiveness and his penance. Innocence needs no voice, but the asking of forgiveness does. As Harold Fisch indicates, the character of the Susanna parable was cut and dry, while David's story is the more convoluted: "the noble and ignoble, triumph and defeat, strength and weakness are less clearly and symmetrically marked off from one

165 Kramer, "'We Speak to God,'" 20.
166 Ibid., 31.
167 Ibid., 32.
168 Ibid., 33.

another."[169] This again seems to support the superior faith of women as demonstrated in this manuscript. Though silence ostensibly shows structural weakness, her faith and her delivery from evil show that she was not weak at all—even if Susanna was divested of any trickiness, like other women in the Bible, she does not represent the limit of women's power. Rather the opposite, she represents what might perhaps be women's greatest power, one shown to fully transcend temporal, structural power. To this point, in the introduction of the collection containing Sered and Cooper's essay, the editor Ellen Spolsky points out that post-structuralist work on the "reversibility of hierarchies, revealing the instabilities of power," can be seen in the parable of Susanna and the Elders.[170] It is my contention that regardless of Daniel's intervention, of any intention to undermine Susanna's power, regardless of her complete structural helplessness, Susanna is the absolute, consummate figure of power and model of faith. A female reader, reading for positive models, would not find Susanna's power deprived by the circumstances beyond her initial attack, for her power derived from her faith, which never once was shaken.

It is especially compelling, because Susanna presents such a flexible model: she is thoroughly dejudaized, which seems so obvious as to hardly warrant comment, and she may equally model for married or unmarried women, as the biblical text cites her as married, though it is so often "ignored" that "she comes to be viewed as the embodiment of a maryological virginity."[171] It is true that Susanna is easily understood as separated from her husband, thus nullifying her married state, and this is easy enough to see in de Brailes' depiction, which shows Susanna with the iconography of an unmarried woman.

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[169] Harold Fisch, "Susanna as Parable: A Response to Piero Boitani" in *The Judgment of Susanna: Authority and Witness*, ed. Ellen Spolsky (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 38.
[170] Spolsky, "Introduction," 2.
[171] Halpern-Amaru, "Susanna Among the Church Fathers," 29.

This iconography may very well be incidental and reflect nothing of de Brailes' ideo-iconographic intent or the person of the reader. Nevertheless, the status of Susanna is left open for her to model faith in a variety of subject contexts. Kathryn A. Smith presents a fascinating argument on the emergence of Susanna as an "*exemplum*" for marital chastity at a time when the Church was struggling to develop an attractive devotional program for married women.[172] I mention this analysis not only because it indicates Susanna's flexibility, but also because Smith significantly uses the term *exemplum*. She is not the only one,[173] and it is remarked by several scholars that the construction of the story's narrative is such that it easily invites the sharp recognition of juxtapositions.[174] Indeed, this is what Sered and Cooper's list of dichotomous attributes is about, and the cleanness of this divide highlights the ambiguity and ambivalence of David's faith, and even further Joseph and Peter's.

An old and recurrent interpretation of Susanna is as a prefiguration of Christ.[175] The most direct and detailed exposition of this has been done by Catherine Brown Tkacz, who especially describes Susanna as a religious heroine and model of petitioner of salvation. She makes the point that gender was "secondary to typology," so that a woman could indeed prefigure Christ.[176] Though gender may have mattered little to the exegetical system of typology, it still played a large role in the narrative of Susanna's story—insuring her structural weakness, a fact guaranteed for our reader as well—and so

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[172] Kathryn A. Smith, "Inventing Marital Chastity: The Iconography of Susanna and the Elders in Early Christian Art," *Oxford Art Journal* 16 (1993): 3. Emphasis my own.
[173] Smith, "Inventing Marital Chastity," 3; Piero Boitani, "Susanna in Excelsis," in *The Judgment of Susanna: Authority and Witness*, ed. Ellen Spolsky (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 11; Frisch, "Susanna as Parable," 38; Sered and Cooper, "Sexuality and Social Control," 47.
[174] Boitani, "Susanna in Excelsis," 9; Fisch, "Susanna as Parable," 36; Sered and Cooper, "Sexuality and Social Control," 43-45.
[175] Boitani, "Susanna in Excelsis," 13; Spolsky, "Introduction," 2-3; Fisch, "Susanna as Parable," 83-39.
[176] Tkacz, "Susanna as a Type of Christ," 102.

it certainly held significance for our reader's experience of this series in the de Brailes Hours. If, as I assume given the individual and devotional landscape of the early thirteenth century, our reader is interacting with this manuscript and its pictorial, devotional contents on a spiritual, subjective level, then she would more than likely (subliminally or not) conflate herself with the character of Susanna. So just as Susanna is "elevated to the highest," our reader is as well, spiritually equated to some degree with Christ, via Susanna's prefiguration.[177] Though Tkacz is arguing Susanna as type of Christ, she also notes how Susanna is a figure of deliverance in devotional practice.[178] If we follow then the process of devotional association, our reader is Susanna, who is Christ, who is the ultimate symbol of deliverance—being the deliverer of man's salvation. De Brailes' devotional pictorial program culminates with nothing less than the crowning example of faith, Christ himself.

Even without a knowledge of Susanna's typological implications, the reader is yet still given the preeminent devotional model of faith in the manuscript. This follows well with the general devotional program: as the reader moves from the Hours of the Virgin, to the Penitential Psalms, to finally the Gradual Psalms, she is presented with incrementally more pure models of faith, until the last, most perfect faith of Susanna. By the end of the pictorial program, de Brailes has cut out his point very clearly: one may ask forgiveness like David, and will be saved, *or* one can live without a drop of doubt as Susanna and essentially embody the faith of Christ.

[177] Boitani, "Susanna in Excelsis," 13.
[178] Tkacz, "Susanna as a Type of Christ," 108.

CONCLUSION

As Sydney Cockerell so expediently pointed out, the de Brailes Hours is "remarkable in four important particulars:" its early date, its pictorial contents, its Anglo-Norman captions, and its artist's signature.[179] It is quite exceptional that we should know so much about a book of hours from so very early in the genre's birth—and this wealth makes the gaps in our knowledge all the more frustrating. With evidence directly from the manuscript, we can be sure the work is of William de Brailes and at some point proximate to the manuscript's completion personalized prayers for three named Dominican confessors were added in Anglo-Norman French to the posterior flyleaves. From this we may infer that a reader of the manuscript had mendicant advisors or confessors, and that these had some hand in the reader's devotional landscape.

Through a series of—unfortunately uncaptioned—portraits depicting a woman, unattached to any narrative, we can comfortably say the intended reader was a woman. We cannot possibly presume her marital status with the available evidence, because de Brailes' proclivity for depicting un/married women ambiguously obscures any possible designation. It has been put forth that this woman was not aristocratic, but this assumption is difficult to perpetuate given the manuscript's novelty and luxury, and the use of Anglo-Norman French. Therefore, I have understood the initial, intended reader to have indeed been of some social standing. Who this initial, intended reader was—or even indeed if this manuscript was made for a specific reader—we cannot know definitively. Nevertheless, it can be said with all surety that it was made to be viewed and used by *someone* in their daily devotion, likely lay and likely a woman. This is the premise on which my argument has been made.

[179] Cockerell, "Description of Brailes Horae," 11.

As its idiosyncrasies and a review of the literature would suggest, it is not difficult to understand why the de Brailes Hours has been a desirable object of study. The question becomes much trickier if we begin to ask *how*. Donovan has given us a sturdy foundation on which to build, but because of the many corridors and hidden depths of this pictorial program, it is perhaps too potent to take in in one sitting. In fact, I have argued something not so dissimilar as an intended experience for the reader moving through the program.

Therefore, my task in this thesis has been to recognize something of the pictorial program's devotional architecture and to then illustrate its working. In this way, I contribute to the development of a framework with which to approach this manuscript and make sense of its dense program. Of course, any proposed framework must be born of the object's own milieu to be viable as a means of interpretation, and this is where much of my work in the literature review was spent. Accordingly, I turned to the scholarship of the two more definite aspects of our presumed reader's context: pastoral care, especially of the mendicants—to understand the ideologies and theologies possibly behind the pictorial program—and women's interpretive abilities—to understand what may have actually been drawn from the pictorial program.

D'Avray shows us the mendicants favorite new method of sermon, a principle vehicle of pastoral care: the *sermo modernus*. This gave us the simplest and clearest structure to look for in the program, a series or network of *exempla* based on whatever *thema* or *distinction* organizined the sermon. Any one *distinction* may have many different *thema*, and any one *thema* may have many different *exempla*, so it is easy to see how this extraordinarily flexible model could be applied to many different media, in many different situations, for many different reasons. But of course, this is far too thoroughly vague to be of any use, so I have used the *thema* of faith around which to organize a single, experientially-contained reading.

Scholars like Reeves, Stansbury, and Watkins have shown us the particular nuances of pastoral theology as it was changing rapidly and somewhat dramatically in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council. Perhaps the most important of these were the new emphasis on a true comprehension of the Articles of Faith and the Creed as an essential component of faith and the interrelated development of internal devotions, communion with God, and a pursuant need to express faith externally (with or without volition and in any circumstance, or, that is, by any process). These two theological undercurrents are the ones that reach out most boldly from the de Brailes Hours' pictorial program.

As we have seen, the foil of Peter and the Wandering Jew demonstrated, in the most convoluted of circumstances, the consequences of ambivalent beliefs held without serious thought or reflection. Peter's faith in Christ was absolute—in his heart. But he failed to comprehend the nature of that faith, for if he had he would have felt no fear in recognizing Christ. Yet he did fear, and this prevented the essential outward expression of faith. Though Peter is left ostracized to the margin as the narrative shifts bracingly to the childhood of the Virgin, he is given redemption several canonical hours of the day later, in fact, at the very last hour of the day, Compline. His redemption is reached through the actual performance of the reader's devotion. In comparison, the thoughtless and uncaring bystander to Christ's Passion solicits Christ's speedy doom with no heed to faith of any sort. He is not one of the gross, caricatured Jews of folio 1r, for they are rather symbols of vague and violent fears; he, the Wandering Jew, is a symbol absolutely more materialized, more concrete, more conscious—and therefore fully responsible for his refusal to recognize Christ. While Peter is given redemption at the end of the Hours of the Virgin, the Wandering Jew is doomed to wander even in the time of our reader's devotions! This condemnation is a direct result of his refusal to understand Christian faith despite his *capacity* to understand it. In the face of Christ, the very material for faith, he

does not embrace the faith and he actively expresses contempt for this faith externally; by this, he seals his fate not once, but twice—while he yet stands as living proof of the truth of Christ! Peter is given grace when his performance of faith stumbles (it's a process of progress after all), but the limits are drawn sharp for the likes of the Wandering Jew, those who have the capacity but absolutely no interest in faith.

Elizabeth and Joseph both modelled a faith genuinely meant, yet only Elizabeth's faith was true, actualized and authorized, because she comprehended her faith; Joseph did not. It is shown immediately that Joseph *does* have the capacity for comprehension, he only needs his own path. I can think of no better example of Wogan-Brown and others' conviction that men and women's devotional knowledge differ only in method or mechanism, in conceptual language, but not in content or intensity.

Finally, at the spiritual zenith of the manuscript, Susanna and David illustrate the starkest disparity in spiritual experience and performance. David's sin, so mundane as to be skipped over, is hardly given space; instead, the focus is on his *penance*, that sacrament of so much importance after the Fourth Lateran Council. His contrition is genuine and his faith is deep, so his performance of this through penance and discipline is powerful. Nevertheless, he begins with a deficit and thus models a performance of faith of a very particular situation, wherein remission of sin and salvation are given even to those of sin and human fallibility. In direct contrast with David's obvious structural strength as Old Testament King and evident spiritual weakness, Susanna has no structural strength and yet exhibits a perfect faith. Here Susanna is obviously the ultimate model for our reader, having not only the most desirable devotion but perhaps the most situational similarity as well. Susanna's spiritual victory is emphatically indicated, certainly not to be missed, but in all the attention drawn to this we cannot forget the verity and validity of David's devotion. Though his performance is dramatically different, his faith is just as

true as Susanna's and holds no less importance in the devotional architecture of the manuscript.

These then are the *exempla*, circulating through a teleological, then a staggering, or then a familiar reading on the *thema* of faith—I cannot stress enough the importance of the manuscript's *thema* system(s) mirroring the vagaries of daily devotion. This is what allowed for the complex and profound interactions between the reader and her manuscript, shaping each day's new experience of faith and each interaction's consequence. Faith is just a singular *thema* in a singular network and there are yet many more systems, as I have endeavored to occasionally indicate.

Figures

Figure 1: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 1r. Detail of the manuscript's trimming.

Figure 2: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 43r. Detail of the artist's first self-portrait.

Figure 3: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 47r. Detail of the artist's second self-portrait.

Figure 4: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 88v. Detail of the artist's third self-portrait.

Figure 5: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 64v. Detail of presumed 'patron portrait.'

Figure 6: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 75r. Detail of presumed 'patron portrait.'

Figure 7: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 87v. Detail of presumed 'patron portrait.'

Figure 8: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 88r. Detail of presumed 'patron portrait.

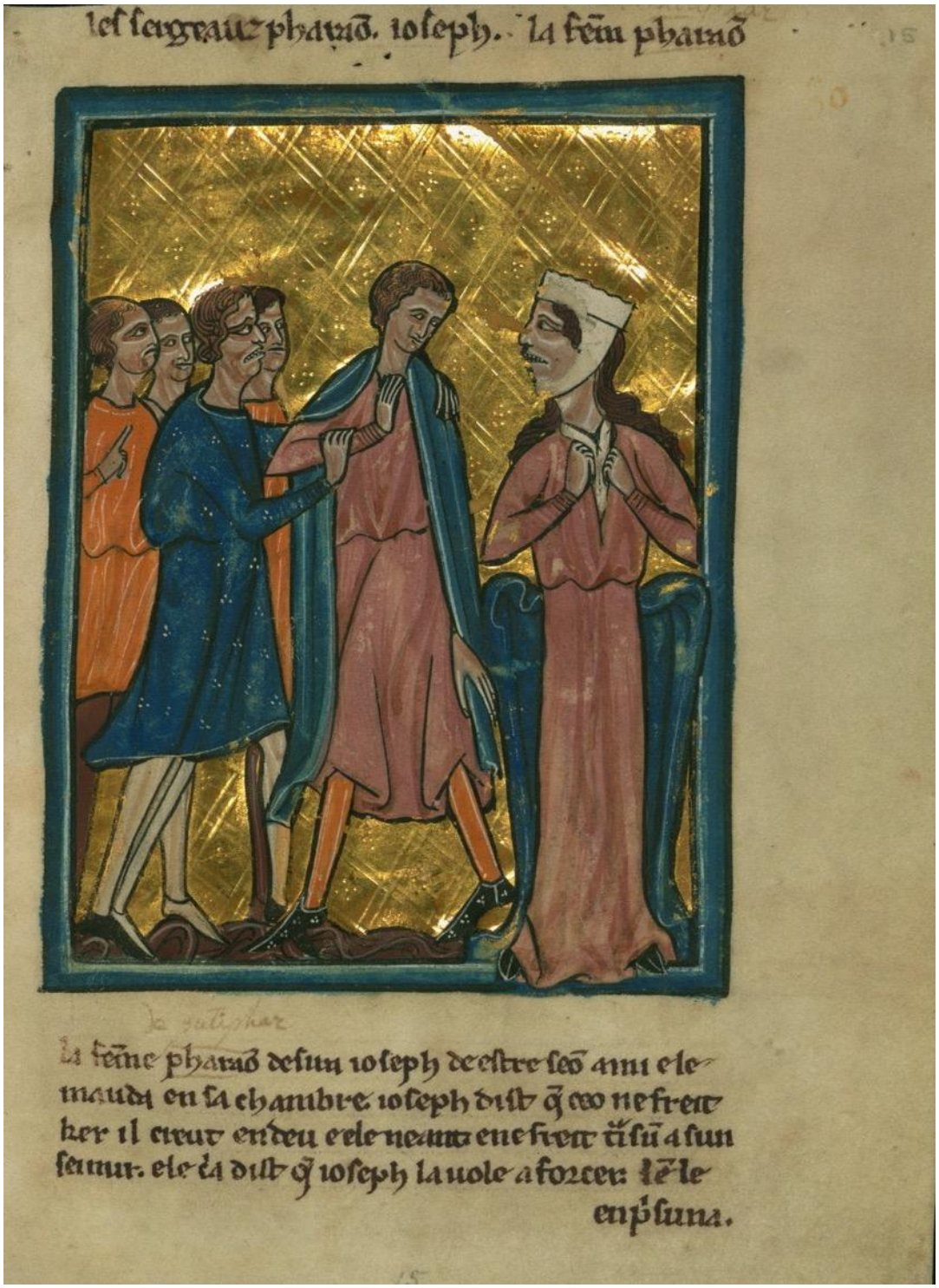

Figure 9: Picture Bible, c. 1250. Baltimore, Walters MS W.106, fol. 15r. The Pharaoh's wife accuses Joseph.

Figure 10: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 1r. Miniature divided in four medallions at Matins, from left to right and top to bottom: (1) the Betrayal; (2) the Flagellation of Christ and Peter's first denial; (3) the Mocking of Christ and Peter's second denial; (4) Christ being reviled and Peter's third denial, with Peter weeping in the margin.

Figure 11: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 32r. Miniature divided in four medallions at Prime, from left to right and top to bottom: (1) Christ before Annas; (2) Christ before Caiaphas; (3) Christ before Pilate; (4) Christ before Herod.

Figure 12: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 39r. Miniature divided in four medallions at Terce, from left to right and top to bottom: (1-2) Christ before Pilate; (3) Pilate washing his hands; (4) Christ being led away.

Figure 13: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 43v. Miniature divided in four medallions at Sext, from left to right and top to bottom: (1) Incident of the Wandering Jew; (2) Christ carrying the Cross; (3) Christ being stripped of his raiment; (4) Christ standing at the foot of the Cross.

Figure 14: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 47v. Miniature divided in three sections at None, from left to right and top to bottom: (1) the Crucifixion; (2) the Virgin Mary and St John at the Cross; (3) Longinus piercing the side of Christ.

Figure 15: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 40v. Historiated initial 'L' at Terce of the Virgin taking Theophilus' bond from the Devil with a right hook.

Figure 16: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 13v. Historiated initial 'D' at Matins of the Visitation.

Figure 17: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 13v. Historiated initial ‘D’ at Lauds of Joseph's Dream.

Figure 18: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 1r. Detail of the Betrayal, top left medallion.

Figure 19: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 1r. Detail of the Flagellation, top right medallion.

Figure 20: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 1r. Detail of the Mocking of Christ, bottom left medallion.

Figure 21: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 1r. Detail of Christ reviled, bottom right medallion.

Figure 22: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 1r. Detail of Peter weeping, outside the frame of the miniature.

Figure 23: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 43v. Detail of the Legend of the Wandering Jew, top left medallion.

Figure 24: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 32r. Detail of top left medallion, Christ before Annas.

Figure 25: *Chronica Maiora*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 16II, fol. 74v. The Legend of the Wandering Jew portrayed in the margin.

Figure 26: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 61v. Historiated initial 'S' at Compline of the nine Jews being blinded at the Burial of the Virgin.

Figure 27: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 62v. Historiated initial 'D' at Compline of St Peter restoring the sight of one of the Jews.

Figure 28: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 63r. Historiated initial 'S' at Compline of the Jew curing one of his blinded countrymen.

Figure 29: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 63v. Historiated initial 'V' at Compline of the Jew failing to cure one of his countrymen who refuses to believe in Christ.

Figure 30: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 5v. Historiated initial 'C' at Matins of Joachim and Anna embracing.

Figure 31: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 1v. Historiated initial 'D' at Matins of the rejection of Joachim's offering at the Temple.

Figure 32: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 1v. Historiated initial 'V' at Matins of a servant reproaching Anna for being barren.

Figure 33: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 3v. Historiated initial 'Q' at Matins of the Annunciation to Joachim.

Figure 34: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 4r. Historiated initial 'D' at Matins of the Annunciation to Anna.

Figure 35: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 21r. Historiated initial 'C' at Lauds of the Dream of the Magi.

Figure 36: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 66r. Historiated initial 'D' of Nathan accusing David (Psalm 6).

Figure 37: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 67v. Historiated initial ‘B’ of David's penance (Psalm 32).

Figure 38: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 69r. Historiated initial 'D' of David praying (Psalm 38).

Figure 39: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 72r. Historiated initial 'M' of David receiving the discipline (Psalm 51).

Figure 40: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 81r. Historiated initial 'K' of Christ as a judge (Litany).

Figure 41: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 90r. Historiated initial 'A' of Susanna praying for deliverance after the approach of the Elders (Psalm 119).

Figure 42: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 90v. Historiated initial 'L' of Susanna being brought before the judges (Psalm 120).

Figure 43: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 91v. Historiated initial 'L' of Daniel questioning the first Elder (Psalm 121).

Figure 44: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 93r. Historiated initial 'N' of the Elders exposed as liars, being admonished by the judge (Psalm 123).

Figure 45: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 94r. Historiated initial 'Q' of the Elders being burnt (Psalm 124).

Figure 46: *The de Brailes Hours*, Oxford, British Library Add. MS 49999, fol. 95r. Historiated initial 'N' of Susanna praising God (Psalm 126).

Appendix A

CONTENTS OF THE DE BRAILES HOURS, OXFORD, BRITISH LIBRARY ADD. MS 49999

The Hours of the Virgin

- Matins (ff. 1r-13r)
- Lauds, with suffrages to of the Holy Ghost, the Holy Cross, St Edmund (imperfect), St Laurence, St Catherine of Alexandria, St Margaret, All Saints, and for Peace (ff. 13r-31v)
- Prime (ff. 32r-38v)
- Terce (ff. 39r-43r)
- Sext (ff. 43v-47r)
- None (imperfect) (ff. 47v-50v)
- Vespers (imperfect) with insertions (ff. 51r-52v and 57r) including Psalms 109, 112 and 147 in a different, Italian hand (see Donovan 1991, p. 32) (ff. 53r-59v)
- Compline (imperfect) (ff 60r-64v)
- 'Salve regina' added by the 'Italian hand' (f. 65r)

Decoration:

f. 1r, Four scenes in medallions replacing the initials 'D'(omine), at the beginning of the Hours to the Virgin: 1. the Betrayal; 2. the Flagellation of Christ and Peter's first denial; 3. the Mocking of Christ and Peter's second denial; 4. Christ being reviled and Peter's third denial, with (in the margin) Peter weeping (Matins).

Scenes from the Life of the Virgin:

f. 1v, Historiated initial 'D'(eus) of the rejection of Joachim's offering at the Temple (Matins).
f. 1v, Historiated initial 'V'(enite) of a servant reproaching Anna for being barren (Matins).
f. 3v, Historiated initial 'Q'(uem) of the Annunciation to Joachim (Matins).
f. 4r, Historiated initial 'D'(omine) of the Annunciation to Anna (Matins).
f. 5v, Historiated initial 'C'(eli) of Joachim and Anna embracing (Matins).
f. 7v, Historiated initial 'D'(omini) of the Nativity of the Virgin (Matins).
f. 9r, Historiated initial 'S'(ancta) of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple (Matins).
f. 9v, Historiated initial 'S'(ancta) of the miraculous flowering of Joseph's rod (Matins).
f. 10v, Historiated initial 'S'(ancta) of the Marriage of the Virgin and Joseph (Matins).
f. 11r, Historiated initial 'T'(e deum) of the Annunciation (Matins).
f. 13v, Historiated initial 'D'(eus) of the Visitation (Matins).

Scenes from the Life of Christ:

f. 13v, Historiated initial 'D'(ominus) of Joseph's Dream (Lauds).
f. 14v, Historiated initial 'I'(n) including 3 medallions: 1-2. The Annunciation to the Shepherds; 3. The Nativity of Christ (Lauds).
f. 15r, Historiated initial 'D'(eus) of the Presentation in the Temple (Lauds).
f. 16v, Historiated initial 'D'(eus) of the Magi before Herod (Lauds).
f. 17v, Historiated initial 'B'(enedicite) of Herod asking the Magi about the place of Christ's birth (Lauds).
f. 19v, Historiated initial 'L'(audate) of the Adoration of the Magi (Lauds).
f. 21r, Historiated initial 'C'(antate) of the Dream of the Magi (Lauds).
f. 23r, Historiated initial 'M'(aria) of the return journey of the Magi (Lauds).
f. 23v, Historiated initial 'O'(gloriosa) of the Massacre of the Innocents (Lauds).
f. 24r, Historiated initial 'B'(enedictus) of the Flight into Egypt (Lauds).
f. 26r, Historiated initial 'C'(oncede) of the Virgin and Child (Suffrages to the Virgin).
f. 27r, Historiated initial 'D'(eus) of the Pentecost (Suffrage to the Holy Spirit).
f. 27v, Historiated initial 'A'(d) of the Crucifixion (Suffrage to the Holy Cross).
f. 28r, Historiated initial 'D'(a nobis) of the Martyrdom of St Laurence (Suffrage to St Laurence). f. 29r, Historiated initial 'O'(mnipotens) of St Catherine being buried by Angels on Mount Sinai (Suffrage to St Catherine).
f. 29v, Historiated initial 'D'(eus) of St Margaret emerging from the dragon (Suffrage to St Margaret).
f. 30r, Historiated initial 'I'(n) divided in 5 semicircles containing: 1. Virgin Mary and the Angels; 2. the Apostles; 3. the Martyrs; 4. the Confessors; 5. the Virgins (Suffrage to all Saints).
f. 30v, Initial 'D'(eus) of Christ in Majesty (Suffrage for peace).
f. 32r, Miniature divided in 4 medallions: 1. Christ before Annas; 2. Christ before Caiaphas; 3. Christ before Pilate; 4. Christ before Herod (Prime).

Scenes from the legend of Theophilus:

f. 32v, Historiated initial 'V'(eni) of Theophilus refusing to become a bishop (Prime).
f. 33r, Historiated initial 'B'(eatus) of Theophilus in poverty (Prime).
f. 34r, Historiated initial 'Q'(uare) Theophilus doing homage to the Devil (Prime).
f. 36r, Historiated initial 'V'(erba) of Theophilus restored to his position (Prime).
f. 38r, Historiated initial 'I'(n) of Theophilus praying to the Virgin (Prime).
f. 39r, Miniature divided in 4 medallions: 1-2. Christ before Pilate; 3. Pilate washing his hands; 4. Christ being led away (Terce).
f. 39v, Historiated initial 'A'(d dominum) of the Virgin appearing to Theophilus (Terce).
f. 40v, Historiated initial 'L'(evavi) of the Virgin taking Theophilus's bond from the Devil (Terce).
f. 41v, Historiated initial 'L'(etatus) of the Virgin returning the bond to Theophilus (Terce).
f. 42v, Historiated initial 'A'(b initio) of Theophilus burning the bond (Terce).

f. 43r, Historiated initial 'C'(once[de]) of William de Brailes as a tonsured man at prayer, accompanied by the inscription: 'w. de brail' q. me depeint' (Terce).
f. 43v, Miniature divided in 4 medallions: 1. Incident of the wandering Jew; 2. Christ carrying the Cross; 3. Christ being stripped of his raiment; 4. Christ standing at the foot of the Cross (Sext).
f. 44r, Historiated initial 'A'(d te) of the Virgin taking Theophilus's soul to heaven (Sext).

Scenes from the story of the priest who only knew the mass of the Virgin:
f. 44v, Historiated initial 'N'(isi) of a priest saying the mass (Sext).
f. 45v, Historiated initial 'Q'(ui) of the priest being suspended by St Thomas Becket (Sext).
f. 46v, Historiated initial 'E'(t) of St Thomas refusing to reinstate the priest (Sext).
f. 47r, Historiated initial 'C'(oncede) of William de Brailes as a tonsured man at prayer, accompanied by the inscription: 'w. de brail' (Sext).
f. 47v, Miniature divided in 3 sections: 1. The Crucifixion; 2. Virgin Mary and St John at the Cross; 3. Longinus piercing the side of Christ (None).
f. 48r, Historiated initial 'I'(n) of St Thomas refusing to reinstate the priest the second time (None).
f. 49r, Historiated initial 'N'(isi) of the Virgin vesting St Thomas with a hair tunic (None).
f. 49v, Historiated initial 'B'(eati) of the priest crossing the sea (None).
f. 50v, Historiated initial 'E'(t) of St Thomas refusing to reinstate the priest the third time (None).
f. 53r, Historiated initial 'L'(etatus), of the Virgin telling the priest about St Thomas's hair tunic (Vespers).
f. 54r, Historiated initial 'A'(d te) of the priest crossing the sea (Vespers).
f. 54v, Historiated initial 'N'(isi) of the priest telling St Thomas of the Virgin's revelation to him (Vespers).
f. 55v, Historiated initial 'Q'(ui) of St Thomas reinstating the priest (Vespers).
f. 56r, Historiated initial 'I'(n) of the priest celebrating mass (Vespers).
f. 58r, Historiated initial 'B'(eata) of the death of the priest (Vespers).
f. 58r, Historiated initial 'A'(ve) of three clerks singing (Vespers).
f. 59r, Historiated initial 'M'(agnificat) of Archangel Gabriel announcing to the Virgin her death (Vespers).
f. 60r, Historiated initial 'U'(sque) of the Apostles salute the Virgin (Compline).
f. 61r, Historiated initial 'I'(udica) of the Death of the Virgin; the Virgin carried to burial; the burial of the Virgin; the Assumption of the Virgin's soul; the Coronation of the Virgin (Compline).
f. 61v, Historiated initial 'S'(epe) of the nine Jews being blinded at the Burial of the Virgin (Compline).
f. 62v, Historiated initial 'D'(omine) of St Peter restoring the sight of one of the Jews (Compline).

f. 63r, Historiated initial 'S'(icut) of the Jew curing one of his blinded countrymen (Compline).
f. 63v, Historiated initial 'V'(irgo) of the Jew failing to cure one of his countrymen who refuses to believe in Christ (Compline).
f. 64v, Historiated initial 'Q'(ueram) of a woman praying (Compline).

The Seven Penitential Psalms, Litany of the Saints, and Collects

The Litany includes amongst the martyrs Alban, Oswald, Edmund, Edward, Thomas, and Columbanus, amongst the confessors Dunstan, Benedict, Giles, Leonard, Botulf and Julian, and amongst the virgins the Oxford saint Frideswide, Mildred and Radegunde.

Decoration:

Scenes from the story of David's sin against Uriah the Hittite:
f. 66r, Historiated initial 'D'(omine) of David and Nathan (Psalm 6).
f. 67v, Historiated initial B(eati) of David's penance (Psalm 32).
f. 69r, Historiated initial 'D'(omine) David praying (Psalm 38).
f. 72r, Historiated initial 'M'([ise]rere) of David receiving the discipline (Psalm 51).
f. 75r, Historiated initial 'D'(omine) of a woman in prayer (Psalm 102).
f. 78r, Historiated initial 'D'(e profundis) of David at prayer (Psalm 130).
f. 79r, Historiated initial 'D'(omine) of David in prayer (Psalm 143).
f. 81r, Historiated initial 'K'(yrieleison) of Christ as a judge (Litany).
f. 87v, Historiated initial 'D'(eus qui proprium) of a woman praying (Collect).
f. 88r, Historiated initial 'P'(retende Domine) of woman in prayer (Collect).
f. 88v, Historiated initial 'D'(eus qui est sanctorum) of a man praying (Collect).

Gradual Psalms

Psalms 119-133

Decoration:

Scenes from the story of Susanna:
f. 90r, Historiated initial 'A'(d dominum) of Susanna praying (Psalm 119).
f. 90v, Historiated initial 'L'(evavi) of Susanna being brought before the judges (Psalm 120).
f. 91v, Historiated initial 'L'(etatus) of Daniel questioning the first elder (Psalm 121).
f. 92v, Historiated initial 'A'(d te levavi) of Daniel questioning the second elder (Psalm 122).
f. 93r, Historiated initial 'N'(isi) of the elders being exposed as liars (Psalm 123).
f. 94r, Historiated initial 'Q'(ui confidunt) of the elders being burnt (Psalm 124).
f. 95r, Historiated initial 'N'(isi) of Susanna praising God (Psalm 126).
f. 96r, Historiated initial 'B'(eati) of Susanna's soul being carried up to heaven (Psalm 127).

Scenes from the story of the burgess who gave a chalice to the church of St Laurence:
f. 97v, Historiated initial 'D'(e profundis) of the burgess's gift (Psalm 129).
f. 98v, Historiated initial 'M'(emento) of St Michael and the Devil contending for the burgess's soul (Psalm 131).
f. 100v, Historiated initial 'E'(cce) of a recluse watching the Devil weighing the burgess's sins and St Michael his good deeds (Psalm 132).
f. 101r, Historiated initial 'E'(cce) of St Laurence placing the chalice on the scale (Psalm 133).
f. 101v, Historiated initial 'L'(audate) of the burgess's soul being carried up to heaven.

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Vita

Madeline Joiner was born and raised in Arlington, Texas, and was s*trongly* encouraged to attend college, despite her apathy. In one short semester at Texas Tech University, in that dusty city Lubbock, Texas, she discovered Art History. It was quite by accident—her parents would always say, "We don't care if you major in basket-weaving, just go and graduate," so she haphazardly chose to major in Studio Art. Well, in one short semester she discovered she was terrible, in the studio classes, but fairly excelled in the art survey classes.

Having found a passion in an unexpected place, she exploded into action. In her last semesters, she was able to take several graduate seminars. Here she met Dr. Joan A. Holladay, connected quickly with her enthusiasm, and threw her hat in for the MA program at the University of Texas in Austin. Quite by surprise, she made it in, and after much growth and much help, she finally completed this thesis.

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This dissertation was typed by Madeline Joiner.